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A rethink on Vietnam essential in the wake of Giap's offensive



Whatever assessment may be made of the military situation in Indo-China – whether it be deemed stalemate or the beginning of months of fighting by 100,000 North Vietnamese regulars with the aim of destroying the South Vietnamese army – the Communist offensive has already achieved one objective.

Inexorably the fighting and bloodshed have stripped the veil of fine and well-meaning words to reveal the bare bones of the political reality of the war.

It is now clear that America's war aims are *not* those the government claims to be pursuing. It is equally apparent that Mr Nixon's real war aims are impossible of achievement.

Unless Washington reviews its Vietnam policy and effects substantial changes the war is condemned to drag on interminably with American assistance. Yet all the President need do is actually pursue the policy he claims to espouse.

The offensive has thus brought to light a state of affairs that makes policy changes appear a more likely possibility than would otherwise have been the case (though this can hardly have been what the strategists in Hanoi had in mind).

If Mr Nixon succeeds in suppressing an atavistic desire to "win" at all costs and opts instead for honourable and convincing policies he can be sure of enjoying the support of the American people.

If he proves unwilling to review US policy the selfsame American public will force him to act. In a democratic system of government anxiety lest he fail to secure re-election is one of the most powerful influences on a politician.

The communist Easter offensive is viewed as an acid test of the vietnamisation of the war. It is, however, nothing of the kind since there would then be no doubt about the outcome. As it is, all that can be hoped is that General Giap's offensive will be stalled by the combination of Vietnamese ground forces and American air and sea power.

The concentration in the Bay of Tonkin of the largest US fleet in South-East Asia since the Korean War is eloquent evidence that the ending of the war, a full withdrawal of US troops and the return of PoWs are *not* President Nixon's targets.

Aerial and naval bombardment are prolonging the war, re-escalating America's fighting role, costing fresh losses, increasing the number of PoWs and are not necessary as a means of protecting the remaining US forces stationed in Vietnam.

The American aerial and naval counter-offensive gives the lie as to Washington's real aim, which is to forestall a defeat for the South Vietnamese army and the Saigon regime in the expectation that Hanoi can be bombarded into consent to negotiate and agree to America's conditions, specifically that the Thieu administration be allowed to survive. This expectation is unlikely to be fulfilled.

Military commentators are making great play with claims that this is General Giap's final fling. This would, however, only be the case if the retreat of the bulk of the communist forces were blocked and further supplies of Chinese and Russian armaments cut off – both of which are militarily and politically out of the question.

A resumption of front-line fighting by American troops would run up against an insuperable morale problem. Recent instances of refusals to obey orders in a number of battalions indicate the extent to which US domestic opinion has come to affect the troops on active service.

To bombard Haiphong and the Soviet freighters berthed there would be an intolerable risk. Hanoi's offensive is thus a trap into which Mr Nixon has fallen with his policy of vietnamisation plus US firepower.

Whenever North Vietnam goes on to the attack and South Vietnam is threatened the US air force is compelled to intervene. Airmen are killed in action and the number of PoWs increases. This is hardly a state of affairs President Nixon would like to be in when the Presidential elections are held next November.

The high-wire act of balancing the number of troops flown home against the number of aircraft carriers heading in the reverse direction is growing increasingly questionable. Dr Kissinger's back-room boys must think of something more constructive. But what?

An imponderable but nonetheless real factor that has arisen since Easter is a degree of South Vietnamese patriotism that has developed among the troops and the general public – an unexpected development if ever there was one.

It must not be mistaken for all-round approval of the politics of General Thieu but at the same time it is a fact that the South Vietnamese President now feels able to entrust the rural population with weapons. They make up an army of 1.2 million men and a 600,000-strong militia.

He can do so without worrying lest the arms promptly fall into the hands of his enemies. This has not always been the case. Even sceptical commentators are wondering what has become of the sea in which the fish swim, to use Maoist guerrilla terminology.

Mr Nixon might utilise this as a solution to his own dilemma. He would need only to take vietnamisation seriously and let Saigon know that as soon as the current offensive is brought to a halt the South Vietnamese will be on their own and no longer able to rely on American air support.

Saigon would then have no option but to reach a direct political solution to the civil war. Were General Thieu himself to stand in the way of a compromise he would just have to sacrifice his political career. The United States, most Americans feel, have done enough for him as it is. This would, as it were, represent General Thieu's personal contribution towards lending the new self-esteem of the non-Communist South significance in bringing about an end to the fighting.

Mr Nixon could easily accelerate the development by specifying a precise date by which time all American troops would quit Vietnam and prisoners of war be returned.

This move would achieve almost magical results. A party favouring negotiation could arguably take over power in Saigon, the competing sides in the war negotiate directly, an international conference be convened to replace the ramshackle Paris talks and the great powers guarantee that South Vietnam's political future be allowed to take final shape when the running sores of civil war have had time to heal (and a fair amount of time will be involved).

This is by no means out of the question and would be preferable by far to continued killing. But Mr Nixon must first have a change of heart.

Herbert von Borch
(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 15 April 1972)



Chancellor Brandt meeting Opposition leader Rainer Barzel for discussions on the treaties with Moscow and Warsaw (Photo: dpa)

Willy Brandt meets Opposition leader Rainer Barzel

The tensely-awaited talks between Chancellor Brandt and Opposition leader Rainer Barzel on the Moscow and Warsaw treaties have brought the government and Opposition no nearer agreement.

If anything, the two sides are even further apart. Dr Barzel has declared that the "Not this way" that followed his initial point-blank "No" has again given way to a harder line.

Richard Stücklen of the Bavarian CSU noted on behalf of his own sister party of the Christian Democratic Opposition that the "utterly disappointing progress" of the discussions had strengthened the Opposition in its rejection of the treaties.

Yet the CDU and CSU are in even more of a dilemma than ever. Rainer Barzel has admitted that the Soviet Union has clarified a number of points regarding the treaties and attributes this to the Opposition's determination.

He is welcome to do so and may even be right, but if this *is* the case why is the Opposition seemingly even more determined to reject the treaties out of hand than in the past?

Of the Opposition's three original demands (Soviet recognition of the EEC, acknowledgment of the right to self-determination and fewer restrictions on travel between the two parts of Germany) only the final demand really remains to be fulfilled.

In an interview with *Hannoversche Allgemeine* Dr Barzel called it the hard core of differences of opinion. But the Soviet Union and the GDR can hardly be expected to make specific concessions on ratification.

The Opposition leader evidently hopes that Christian Democratic intransigence will induce the Soviet Union to make further concessions. He runs a serious risk of overcalling his hand, though.

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 14 April 1972)

IN THIS ISSUE

■ FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Rogers comes to Europe to dispel Nato anxieties

Early next month Secretary of State William R. Rogers will be making the rounds of European Nato capitals in order to brief America's allies in what Washington claims will be unparallelled detail prior to President Nixon's Moscow visit.

On the President's return from Moscow at the end of May the Secretary of State will head straight for Brussels and the Nato *Foreign Ministers' conference* to report on the outcome of the US-Soviet talks.

These arrangements are considered to be a full-scale attempt to dispel traditional anxiety on the part of America's allies in Europe lest the two superpowers agree to join forces in assuming control over Europe.

This is one of the reasons why President Nixon will be discussing, among other topics, multilateral subjects such as mutual balanced force reductions and the holding of a European security conference on the basis of the consensus currently being reached within Nato.

Mr Rogers will, at a rough guess, outline Washington's view of the reasons why the Soviet Union invited President Nixon to visit Moscow with the intention of achieving definite results as follows:

First, there are economic motives. The Soviet Union, it is argued, has come to realise that the Marxist-Leninist system is not conducive to economic growth in modern society. It has, indeed, led to stagnation.

Russia is accordingly badly in need of a powerful shot in the arm of Western technology on credit terms that presuppose a relaxation of political tension.

State Department planners feel their views to have been confirmed on this point by an essay in the April issue of *Foreign Affairs* written by a high-ranking Soviet official at the United Nations.

In this article Evgeni Khosudovsky outlines proposals for East-West cooperation that go far beyond anything mooted in the past. There being no question of him having written the article without the approval of the Soviet government it is felt to be a kite expressly flown prior to Mr Nixon's visit to Moscow.

A European security and cooperation treaty organisation is proposed as a multileral body to supervise these joint undertakings.

Such far-reaching plans for East-West cooperation are hard to reconcile with Marxist theories about the pauperisation of capitalism, as the writer of the article willingly admits. Soviet economists, he says, have long since renounced their old views about the automatic collapse of capitalism.

Indeed, they were appreciative of its ability to control to a certain extent the ups and downs of trade. A comprehensive agreement between East and West must be reached, Khosudovsky concludes, in order to ensure political and military security and stability on world markets.

Another factor is Soviet mistrust of China, a mistrust that is claimed to be obsessive and paranoiac. It is felt to be an important element in Soviet rapprochement with the West, though it is denied in Washington that President Nixon considers himself in a position to play the Chinese card in Moscow in keeping with the policy of balance attributed to Dr Kissinger.

US columnists have suggested that President Nixon may have offered China economic aid on a loan basis and that this aid is of military significance and could be used as a means of bringing pressure to bear on the Soviet Union in connection with, say, the expected conclusion of an initial Salt agreement.

US diplomats shake their heads in dismay at any such idea. The US government, they point out, is not going to abandon completely its military restrictions on exports to Communist countries merely for China's sake.

Mr Nixon has told the Russians that he does not feel that Sino-Soviet tension need affect his own relations with the two countries in any way.

Mr Brezhnev, to judge by the conciliatory tenor of his address to the Soviet trades union congress, has accepted this point. Diplomats doubt, however, whether a three-cornered relationship dry-cleaned of distrust, as it were, can exist in practice.

A further motive for detente is, it is argued, the legalistic, formalistic Soviet inclination to codify the status quo (by means of, say, a European security conference).

Last but not least US diplomats note the ambivalence of Soviet policy, which is also aimed at an old-fashioned extension of power particularly evident in the naval sector.

In the context of Mr Nixon's trip to Moscow vigilance is called for to ensure that the Soviet side does not induce the United States to disengage from Europe unilaterally.

Mr Nixon expects to conclude an impressive package of bilateral agreements in the course of his visit to the Soviet Union. There is the first Salt agreement, a joint space programme (a rendezvous of Soviet and American spacecraft), environmental protection agreements and gigantic trading agreements such as joint exploitation of copper deposits in Siberia or natural gas reserves.

US-Soviet cooperation of this kind could also form the basis for agreement at the European security conference, though Washington would prefer security problems such as mutual balanced force reduction to be dealt with by smaller bodies.

Herbert von Borch

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 7 April 1972)

Marshal Gretchko visits Yugoslavia and revives old worries

Soviet Defence Minister Marshal Gretchko's visit to Yugoslavia once again gives rise to urgent queries as to Soviet intentions in the Balkans and the Mediterranean.

Marshal Gretchko visited not only Belgrade but also Macedonia, a region of Yugoslavia strategically placed within striking distance of both Greece and Albania.

Tirana was upset by the appearance of the Soviet Defence Minister in neighbouring Yugoslavia, so much so as to feel the need to warn the Yugoslavs in the Albanian Party daily, against too great an intimacy with Moscow and dependence on Soviet military supplies.

We will probably never learn how frank the talks between the Soviet and Yugoslav delegations were. The only point on which there can be no doubt is that Moscow is pursuing a long-term policy.

Gretchko may have had talks with Tito but the Soviet Union is already preparing for the successor to the veteran Yugoslav field-marshal, who will shortly be eighty. Maybe it hopes, when the time comes, to secure what has been withheld from the Kremlin for all these years: a Soviet naval base in Cattaro.

The Soviet Union will certainly not have failed to observe the increase in political power gained by the Yugoslav army since the December unrest in Croatia. This could be to Moscow's advantage even though the Yugoslav general staff is by no means wholly pro-Soviet.

Yugoslav and Soviet generals doubtless agree on professional matters and are equally opposed to experiments in liberalism.

The head of Yugoslav military counter-espionage, Colonel-General Ivan Miskovis, recently gave a sensational interview to a Zagreb weekly. The mere fact of a man in his position giving an interview was sensational in itself.

One of the questions he was asked was how one can recognise a foreign agent. Whether or not an individual was in the pay of a foreign power was not, the General said, of primordial importance. Anyone opposed to the regime was in effect serving the interests of foreign foes.

One cannot help feeling that Andrei Gretchko would wholeheartedly echo these sentiments.

(Deutsche Zeitung, 14 April 1972)

Alexei Kosygin visits Baghdad

Almost unnoticed by world public opinion Soviet Premier Alexei Kosygin recently visited Iraq, where his talks represented the beginning of a new phase in developments in the Middle East.

Moscow has gained a further operational base in Iraq and is well on the way to gaining influence in the Persian Gulf.

Iraq is Moscow's second base in the region. Following the fall of Egyptian ex-Deputy Premier Ali Sabry allies of Moscow lost influence in Cairo and the Soviet Union is not satisfied with President Sadat on this score.

The Egyptian leader is cautiously trying to curb Soviet influence in Egypt without upsetting the Kremlin unduly. At the same time, though, President Sadat would like the Soviet Union to supply more arms. Moscow not unnaturally insists that Cairo pay the political price.

Cairo has done so most unwillingly and was accordingly to be taught a lesson. The Soviet Union wanted to demonstrate that it can, if necessary, extend its influence in the Middle East regardless of President Sadat.

This was one of the reasons why Mr Kosygin concluded a fifteen-year friendship pact with Iraq. This pact killed a number of birds with one stone, though.

For one, the Soviet Union has now set foot on the oilfields of the Middle East, into which a large sum of Soviet money is to be ploughed. Middle Eastern oil has so far been a Western prerogative.

Second, "Red" Iraq has been given a shot in the arm and Turkey and Iran may well assume more neutral attitudes in consequence too.

Lastly, Soviet naval squadrons now have port facilities in Iraq. Five Soviet warships have already shown the flag at Umm Quasr.

Iraq's aim in concluding the pact was to sever the knot of isolation separating it from the rest of the Arab world. The Iraqui Baath regime was not on good terms with Cairo and relations with other Arab countries were not of the best either. In order to improve matters Baghdad veered towards the Soviet camp.

Hans-Jochen Zenker

(Nordwest Zeitung, 11 April 1972)

Gerhard Schröder to visit Peking

Ex-Foreign Minister Gerhard Schr... can rightly claim to have b... relations with China in mind for s... time regardless of day-to-day consi... tions.

His efforts to land an invitation to... Peking date back to early last year... were not motivated by the desire to... up a side-track of Bonn's *Ostpolitik*... adapt to the change in US policy... China.

These considerations were merely... outward reasons why the Shadow For... Affairs Minister decided to resum... tacts first established in 1964... confidential talks were held with... Chinese legation in Berne at his instigat...

The earlier talks were aimed initially... formalising existing trade relations... tween this country and mainland Chi... It is hard to say how much further... might have gone.

Since then next to nothing has happ... ed in the way of relations between B... and Peking. The invitation extended... Gerhard Schröder is the first indica... that Peking too is reappraising future... with this country.

Inviting Dr Schröder to visit Peking... its advantages as far as China is conc... ed. Since his Christian Democrats are... in office at the moment the necess... talks need not be hidebound by issu... mutual prestige.

Moreover, the Chinese will not... forgotten that Dr Schröder's concern... Foreign Affairs Minister always insi... being on the best terms possible... communist countries bent on the grea... possible degree of independence of M... cow.

Gerhard Schröder, it will be recal... was the Foreign Affairs Minister... started the ball rolling that led to the... establishment of diplomatic relations... tween Bonn and Bucharest.

The Federal government has not be... overdelighted by the news of the inv... tion extended to Dr Schröder. It... hardly be expected to be enthusi... about this feather in the cap of... Opposition politician who cut a... figure in the Bundestag debate on... *politik*.

On balance, though, Bonn ou... welcome the invitation. It well... that there can be no avoiding Peki... the new member of the Security Co... when it comes to both German... applying for membership of the U... Nations.

Dr Schröder will be visiting China... time by which the fate of the Mos... and Warsaw treaties will have been d... ed. He could well be the first to... what policy Peking proposes to ad... towards this country in the circumsta... ces.

(Der Tagesspiegel, 12 April 1972)

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■ PROFILE

Federal Republic mourns the loss of President Lübke

Whenever the qualities of honesty, devotion to duty and steadfastness were mentioned Heinrich Lübke's friends and foes alike had to agree that he had these qualities.

Measured against the difficult political setup during most of the ten years when he held the highest office in the protocol of the Federal Republic and the demands that were made of him Lübke was an attentive President during the latter years of the Adenauer era.

It is difficult to assess his importance in the postwar history of Germany accurately since he could scarcely avoid being overshadowed by his great predecessor, the liberal Theodor Heuss, and his successor Gustav Heinemann.

Heinrich Lübke's period of office from 1959 to 1969 was riddled with dissension and unpleasantness. Fifty per cent of this was no fault of Lübke's — his nomination in the first place was the outcome of the power struggle within his party, the Christian Democratic Union. His re-election in 1964 was caught up in the eddy of turbulent politics as the SPD's self-confidence grew, and Lübke's departure from public life was largely the result of a conspiracy by those who wanted a quick change.

The other fifty per cent of the difficulties that arose can be ascribed to Lübke himself. He wanted to be a more politically active President than his predecessor, and like Heuss he was tormented by the lack of political say granted to the President by the formulators of Basic Law.

With his background and upbringing Lübke had to be a man of the people, a role he kept as President. He was the son of a master cobbler and smallholder in Enkhausen in the Sauerland.

Heinrich, the second youngest of five, was born on 14 October 1894.

Even when he was in Bonn Heinrich Lübke constantly felt himself drawn back to his hometown and he told tales of his rather hard-up youth with glee. He told of going into the fields barefoot to milk the cows and how at the village school he made the acquaintance of High German and the birch rod! He served the village priest at mass and was later helped by him to gain entry to a higher school.

Lübke went on to the agricultural colleges and university departments in Bonn, Berlin and Münster to study economics, land surveying, and administration. He joined up as a volunteer in the First World War.

Following the War Lubke worked in agricultural administration and joined the Centre Party, which sent him to the Prussian Provincial Assembly in 1931. It was for this reason that he along with other elected members of parties that were anathema to National Socialism was made to give up all his offices by the Nazis. They sent him to prison for interrogation and he was not released for twenty months.

Later Lübke stated that he determined in this period to have nothing more to do with politics. It was ironic and rather tragic that Lübke, who was never a member of the NS, should have worked during the War with private architecture and engineering office of Schlempp and helped in the planning of accommodation for workers.

Critics later accused Lübke of participating in the building of barracks for concentration camp inmates. As Schlempp's deputy he should have known just what was being built, they accused.

Immediately after the War Lübke joined the CDU and was sent to the first North Rhine-Westphalia Provincial Assembly. He served in the first Karl Arnold government from 1947 as Minister of Food and Agriculture.

Politicians who knew Heinrich Lübke from these days say that he did an outstanding job in this most difficult of offices. His Sauerland background made him thick-skinned and this stood him in good stead in the constant conflict with the British forces. In the dreadful postwar years of hunger and poverty Lübke did his utmost for his stricken fellow-countrymen.

In 1952 he asked to be relieved of his post in the NRW government and at the end of 1953 he was in Bonn as Konrad Adenauer's Minister of Food and Agriculture. His "Green Plan" brought him fame — and conflict. But till the summer of 1959 Heinrich Lübke was considered to be 100 per cent involved in his office. He rarely let political considerations encroach on his work.

Then came the "president crisis" when Konrad Adenauer considered becoming President, but realised that he would not be able to stop Ludwig Erhard succeeding him and thus withdrew his approval. Lübke's name then came up as the best way out for the CDU.

Heinrich Lübke never angled for the office of President and only accepted reluctantly. But he was voted in against Carlo Schmid (SPD) and Max Becker (FDP) and immediately decided that he would carry out his duties "trusting in God's help and the cooperation of the whole nation".

Once in the Villa Hammerschmidt Lübke was struck by the restrictions on the power of the President; he saw that he was a figurehead, but that the business of government passed him by. He disliked his image as "the country's senior notary".

He attempted to extend his duties of countersigning laws, official pronouncements and the like, but he never pushed matters so far as a constitutional crisis.

He was also hurt by the image he had in the public eye. He was mocked greatly for his simple way of delivering a speech and yet he believed large sections of the public at large approved of him. The gulf between the two led him finally to overestimate his powers and seek the popular vote.

In 1961, two years after he came to office, President Lübke attempted to influence the formation of the coalition by announcing before the elections that he would approve of an all-party Cabinet, or a grand coalition. Experience did not make him wise and before the next election in 1965 he went so far as to write to the party leaders and exhort them not to decide prematurely on a new Chancellor. He had not gauged the political scene correctly, and what was worse he made this fact public knowledge. He was also wrong in his judgment of the motives of the SPD who made his re-election in 1964 possible. Herbert Wehner predicted quite correctly that within five years the Social Democrats would be so strong that they would be able to put up their own candidate for the Presidency and get him in. The result was that the voice of the President lost weight constantly and confidence in the post waned.

In the spring of 1968 the campaign against Lübke, based on his supposed political past, began. It was not so much the campaign itself that affected his standing as his hesitant and ambiguous retorts to the accusations laid against him. The war of nerves was on and inevitably he was forced to retire from office a little ahead of schedule.

Lübke's last years were spent in almost complete isolation from the glare of publicity. He lived in his house on the Venusberg in Bonn surrounded by a security official, a secretary and a chauffeur. His wife Wilhelmine looked after him.

When her husband was in office Wilhelmine Lübke helped complement him, providing many of the characteristics he lacked. She is a highly educated woman and her vitality helped complement the rather stiff and starchy correctness of her husband.

As a pensioner Lübke's health failed rapidly. He suffered brain haemorrhages which made speaking difficult and blurred his memory. He was unable to go ahead with his plan to act as an adviser to the Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO).

Klaus Rudolf Dreher

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 7 April 1972)



President Lübke and his wife, Wilhelmine

(Photo: Archiv)

Heinrich Lübke with Lyndon Johnson and Charles de Gaulle (Photo: dpa)

A much-travelled ambassador for his country

Even though the tributes, obituaries and messages of sympathy that follow the death of a major national figure tend to be filled with apparent piety this does not prevent them from being the first glance at the life and work of the man as a whole from the distance created by death and thus the first step towards an historical appraisal of him.

As people in the Federal Republic watched the scenes from the life of the second President of the country assembled by television some may have realised that much of the criticism levelled against this man during his ten years of office, particularly by the so-called intellectuals, was in fact unjustified.

Did not grey-haired Heinrich Lübke's face exude some of those characteristics mentioned in his obituaries — honesty, simplicity, a sense of duty and even warmth?

Despite the limitations placed on the rôle of the President by Basic Law, or perhaps because of these limitations, the emphasis of Lübke's career lay in one particular direction, not in Lübke's efforts to have a greater influence on political life, but in his foreign tours.

He undertook fourteen trips covering thirty different countries and the emphasis was on the world's youngest countries, the developing nations of the Third World.

Many observers have remarked that the reserved and rather shy seeming old gentleman from Germany who was supported by his wife in his public appearances was a good ambassador who aroused confidence and gave a good impression of his country, backing up the favourable ideas other nations have about the Federal Republic and correcting many unjustified prejudices.

It was not so much experiences of travelling as a correct political instinct that made Lübke go on his State visits. The number of warm tributes that have come from abroad now that Lübke is dead show how this impression has lasted.

Lübke may well have shown the Federal Republic the kind of ambassadors that are most effective abroad.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 8 April 1972)

■ LEGAL AFFAIRS

Parliamentary committee investigates legal scandal

Hamburg's justice resembles a rotten apple," a member of the House of Burgesses recently said. "There are too many worms in it." He was not completely wrong. For the past three months Hamburg has been rocked by a scandal that will probably have consequences for the whole of the West German legal system.

A Parliamentary Committee of Investigation has now been set up in Hamburg to bring some light into the scandal involving no fewer than 49 judges, public prosecutors, professors, police officials and law court employees. Public confidence in the correctness of legal decisions must be restored after the jolt it has received in Hamburg.

It began with the suicide of Günther von Below, a prominent Hamburg public prosecutor, on 10 January this year. Von Below, 51, shot himself after it had become known that he had suspended proceedings against an extremely obscure entrepreneur by the name of Busch in return for a fine of 400,000 Marks.

Busch was being prosecuted for tax envasion totalling 1.3 million Marks and further summonses had already been made against him.

A quarter of the fine – 100,000 Marks – was transferred to an anti-drink-and-drive organisation of which von Below was the head. It now turns out that von Below gave 252 talks on behalf of his association and received fees tatalling 31,370 Marks – almost as much as his salary as a public prosecutor.

But von Below was not the only person to earn a little on the side by such methods. A magistrate named Arland who worked closely with von Below pocketed about eleven thousand Marks last year. Colleagues by the name of Schmaltz and Kamm received twenty thousand Marks each as did a law court secretary named Böe. A lawyer named Martin brings up the rear with a fee of eight hundred Marks.

There would be no objections against fees being given for lectures of this type if only they were not so ludicrously high and if only some members of the legal system had not granted favours in return.

Of all charitable organisations in Hamburg von Below's association, the merits of which cannot be denied, received most money from the law courts' income last year.

It received 375,000 Marks, seventy per cen raised through the activities of von Below and Arland, while the Refugee Aid Organisation, another charitable body entitled to money from the law, had to make do with four hundred Marks and an association helping thalidomide children obtained only 32,000 Marks.

Two injunctions were issued in Hamburg in 1956 and 1968 demanding that all fines must pass through the court accounts departments. But Senator of Justice Ernst Heinsen has had to admit that these rulings are not heeded. This means that the fines can be subtracted from the offenders' taxable income as contributions to charitable organisations.

This trade in fines was, it is stated unofficially in the Public Prosecutor's Office, thrown out as bait for young judges to switch from civil to criminal law as a few hundred Marks extra could be earned.

The Parliamentary Committee of Investigation should not restrict its work to examining von Below's association. It has long been known in Hamburg that other organisations have been favoured when it has come to distributing fines in the past. The Transport Science Seminar for instance received 82,000 Marks in 1970 and 93,000 in 1971.

The initiated think it remarkable that members of the Transport Science Seminar, among them a number of judges and public prosecutors, have long taken expensive trips throughout the world.

Eighty-eight members recently flew to the United States and 140 "transport experts" made an extended visit to the Far East. The official report states openly that this figure included 31 wives.

A new aspect of this distateful scandal has now come to light, making Hamburg's justice seem even more dubious. The Public Prosecutor's Office is reported to have protected von Below even after the incorrect suspension of proceedings against Busch had become know officially.

Von Below was not abandoned until Justice Senator Ernst Heinsen personally stepped in. This is a serious accusation and the Parliamentary Committee will have to get to the bottom of it.

The Hamburg scandal gives rise to the question of whether courts should support charitable and non-profit-making organisations from the fines they impose on offenders. It is the customary practice in most West German cities for the courts to decide which organisations they are to make donations to and the amount they are to pay.

This system obviously invites corruption. What is more, it does not function anyway where offences against traffic regulations are concerned. The fines imposed must be transferred to the State.

Most of the 49 people known to have received money from von Below's organisation can calmly await the Parliamentary Committee's verdict. The Hamburg legal authorities have already anticipated the verdict and stated that their actions are not subject to punishment or disciplinary measures.

Most of the invective is directed against von Below, who has escaped all consequences by committing suicide, and magistrate Arland who retired prematurely from his post.

Proceedings are still continuing against secretary Böe who sorted out the files of people most likely to have to pay fines and took them to Arland.

This system of paying charitable organisations donations has suddenly come to a standstill in Hamburg. "Who knows whether or not it is continuing unchecked in other Federal states," a high official asked however. *Thomas Wolgast*

(Münchner Merkur, 8 April 1972)

Meter maids tell tales of motorists' wrath at Düsseldorf conference

Female traffic wardens controlling parking meters in West German cities who hand out tickets to motorists breaking parking regulations are prepared psychologically for situations of conflict during their period of training.

Once they start work they find out what life really is like. "We are often threatened," one Düsseldorf traffic warden stated. "If you show up again I'll kill you," a motorist told a Cologne meter-maid.

Pedestrians, especially pensioners, shout insults after them: "You ought to get a decent job" or, "Get back to your stove" or, "You should stay home and take care of your husband."

Meter-maids from nine West German cities recently met in Düsseldorf to tell of what they had experienced during their duties.

Many of the traffic wardens had been jostled from behind when jotting down a car number. Summonses were issued in the worst twenty cases. "Violence is on the increase," a spokesman complained. "Motorists are unfortunately going to extremes."

No clear picture of pedestrian violence against traffic wardens could be gained at the Düsseldorf congress which was also attended by representatives of the Ministry of Transport and the West German City's Federation.

An elderly traffic warden from Düsseldorf claimed that the majority of drivers she booked were pleasant and understanding. A young meter-maid from Munich reported on the occasion when two drivers handed her flowers when she presented them with a parking ticket.

Traffic wardens have been employed in West Germany since 1962 when staff shortages in the police force led to their introduction in Frankfurt. Since then practice throughout the country has varied. Motorists parking in Frankfurt's pedestrian zones are always given a ticket but warning are more common in other cities.

The 31 traffic wardens in Hanover each issued an average of 4,380 warnings a year while the average figure for Frankfurt's traffic wardens – with 103 women the largest force in he Federal Republic – is no more than 2,300.

As far as the number of warnings is concerned, the sixty thousand a year issued by the 55 traffic wardens in Munich and the fifty thousand issued by their 74 colleagues in West Berlin lag far behind the three hundred thousand wa- ings recorded in Cologne, the 250,000 Frankfurt and the two hundred thou- in Düsseldorf.

The 1.7 million Marks income fr- Cologne's traffic wardens exceeds t- expenditure of 1.4 million. Expendit- is Munich is 1.1 million Marks or m- than twice as high as the income of t- hundred thousand Marks.

The traffic wardens at the Düsse- congress expressed their dissatisfactio- the various rates of pay in operatio- different parts of the country. Th- year-old traffic wardens in Munich e- gross monthly salary of 1,175 Marks- full-time work, a figure that includ- police allowance. Their colleagues. Frankfurt have to do without this all- ance. Entry into higher wage categori- impossible in Hanover and Cologne.

Most traffic wardens like working h- days so that they can spend more ti- with their family. Some of the ward- used to be shop assistants and are - glad that they have escaped the opp- sive atmosphere of department stores - can earn more money for shorter hou-

Most cities still have vacancies f- traffic wardens and are unable to t- some applicants because of the excess- salaries they demand. But West Berli- in the happy position of having some - hundred applicants standing by for p- to become vacant.

A general cry of surprise and adm- tion came from the delegates whe- Düsseldorf traffic warden appeared i- first of the new turqoise summer - forms. The Frankfurt wardens - enthused so much about their *chic* lea- coats and sou'westers that their - leagues from other cities grew jealous. – Cologne's traffic wardens thought - their pot-shaped hats made them appe- badly dressed and a Berlin warden cri- cised her uniform as being impractic- She had had to make some adjustme- to it herself, she said. Males are said - have selected the uniform without - sulting the women. *Friedrich Kassebe-*

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 7 April 1972)

Prisoners in Bremen to take part in decision-making

Convicts at Bremen prisons will have a part in decision-making from this summer, Herr Kahrs, the Bremen Senator of Justice, recently announced. Prisoners will have a greater say in the penal system and will be able to appoint their own representatives.

Another reform in Bremen involves paying prisoners a full wage for their work. This will only be possible, Kahrs believes, if more firms agree to order goods from prisons or if they were prepared to invest in branches to be set up in the prisons. Kahrs admitted that higher State expenditure would be unavoidable at first.

Committees consisting of part-time representatives from the public will be set up at prisons from 1 June this year to act in an advisory capacity in discussions about the penal system and the treatment of prisoners. They will listen to prisoners' ideas, wishes and objections and will also turn up at prisons without prior notice to examine food and accommodation.

It is also planned to appoint an advisor to whom prisoners can confide their personal worries. The advisor will also encourage prisoners to educate themselves or attend training courses, they will prepare them for release and help their reintegration into society.

Prison employees will also be transferred for a time to a section where they can st udy therapeutic methods and be trained to support psychologists in their own prisons. Consideration is also being taken of proposals to abolish warders' uniforms partially or completely.

Parole schemes are also to be improved so that prisoners can be set free temporarily in the event of trouble in the family, for instance.

Senator Kahrs stressed that these measures had nothing to do with making the penal system softer. Advocates of harsh treatment ignored the fact that imprisonment could only be effective and a relapse into a life of crime could only be ruled out if the prisoner was not humiliated but retrained for community life.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 11 April 1972)

New crime-beating measures

Hans Dietrich Genscher, Federal Mi- ister of the Interior, said in - interview with the West German Sund- newspaper *Welt am Sonntag*, that th- fight against crime would be intensif- by extending the scope of the telepho- tapping laws and applying aliens la- more stringently.

By this means the Minister ho- particularly to halt the sale of drugs a- weapons and reduce crimes perpetrat- by foreigners, all of which have bee- spiralling recently.

Genscher stressed that the right to us- the telephone without being spied on w- a fundamental right but an *extension* - official powers to listen in was essential, his opinion in the light of drug offence- and illegal arms trafficking.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 27 March 1972)

Police cheered

Most inhabitants of North Rhin- Westphalia look upon the poli- with respect, Willi Weyer, the Fede- state's Minister of the Interior, told - press conference in Düsseldorf.

A survey held during a complain- week organised by the police fo- showed that only one per cent of th- three thousand people "complaining" described the police as unfriendly, bias- or not objective. Thirteen per cent call- the police officious though human whi- nine per cent believed that the polic- were formal and correct.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 15 March 1972)

■ PARLIAMENT

Bundestag has a full agenda over the next nine months

The Bundestag has nine working months at its disposal for legislation during the current legislative period. Various advisory committees will therefore work under considerable strain and under the influence of political controversy. The standard of legislation dealt with could suffer as a result.

Tax reform is still the most delicate subject. The particularly controversial income tax and corporation tax reforms will be submitted to the Bundestag even if there is little chance that they will be passed. Whatever the case, the whole reform is being influenced by electioneering.

More than two hundred Bills are currently being discussed in their various stages. Many of them are controversial.

There is for instance the amendment to the monopoly laws. It is proposed to control mergers and increase supervision of firms with a monopoly or near monopoly of a market. Cooperation between firms will also be made easier.

Both a government and Opposition Bill have been put forward for amending value added tax and it will be some time before discussions end. The appropriate committee has also to come to a decision on more than one hundred applications for exemption from value added tax or a reduction of the usual rate.

A Bill to raise the preliminary tax-free amounts for agriculture is also in committee stage. The legislature must also provide the basis for the controversial fiscal measures that are now required in agriculture for currency reasons.

A number of problems are also involved

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Industriekurier

in the reform of company law and the cooperative laws too are to be modernised during the current legislative period. Greater flexibility in capital accumulation is being discussed above all else but this partial corrective will not render a complete reform superfluous.

A building society law is also to be passed. Private and publicly-owned building societies will then be subject to the same laws and a standardised system of supervision. Credit law will also apply to building societies because of their bank-like character.

The real credit reform necessitates an amendment to the mortgage law and other laws applying to bonds and debentures issued by publicly-owned banks.

The Bundestag also plans an amendment to end illegal acts by estate agents. Persons wishing to set themselves up as estate agents will be subject to more rigorous controls. The new law will not demand any certificate of competence but the appropriate minister will be empowered to issue specifications for efficiency in these professions.

Pollution will still play a major role in debates before the legislative period is over. Basic Law must be altered and laws on air and water pollution and the emission of waste effluents must be passed.

These Bills and the Environment Statistics Law are likely to be passed more quickly than the reform of the food laws that will still occupy the committees for some time.

The social sector also involves a number of serious problems. Among the controversial points that have to be overcome are the Hospital Finance Bill, a law governing the organisation of the postal services, the Work Promotion Law amendment, the pharmaceutics law and the sickness insurance regulations for farmers.

The pensions insurance reform package plays a major role here. Among the items to be discussed are the voluntary retirement age, the opening up of pensions insurance schemes to the self-employed, the rights of housewives and the introduction of a contribution-free year for women following the birth of a child.

The Bundestag agenda also includes the new drink-and-drive law, suburban transport laws, the civil court procedure amendment and laws governing the post office, the press and the penal code.

The controversial framework university law and the law of copyright will also occupy the legislature along with the reduction of the period of conscription and the various laws to improves the soldier's lot.

Abortion law reform and divorce law reform will guarantee a number of hotly-contested debates. A number of tax laws will pose less problems despite the fact that they are now being criticised by industrialists.

Among other topics occupying the Bundestag are the amendment to stock exchange law, the food laws, the amendment to the work promotion law and the 1972 Budget.

Bills originating from the Bundestag include the amendment to the profit-tax law, the partnership law and the law of copyright. The Bundesrat or Upper House drew up Bills concerned with the arms laws and career training regulations.

Antonius John

(Handelsblatt, 10 April 1972)

Poll reveals West Germans favour more women in government

Nordwest-Zeitung

A survey conducted by the Institute for Applied Social Science based in Bonn shows that the number of West Germans favouring women having more seats in local councils and the Bundestag has increased considerably over the past eight years.

Sixty-five per cent of the 1,082 men and women on the electoral register who were interviewed during the survey stated that more women should concern themselves with local politics. Sixty-two per cent called for more women to enter the Bundestag.

Only minorities of less than a third (29 and 30 per cent respectively) believed that the active participation of women in local councils or in the Bundestag was unimportant.

A survey conducted in 1964 showed that 55 per cent did not believe it important for women to be on local councils. Only 36 per cent thought it important at the time.

Another difference to the 1964 results lay in the evaluation of local and national politics. In the autumn of 1964 all sections of the population agreed that, if women were to enter any governing bodies, they should go preferably into the Bundestag.

Today a larger proportion of the interviewed sample preferred women to bother about local problems than go to Bonn and dicuss national politics.

(Nordwest Zeitung, 31 March 1972)

New tenancy regulations give greater protection

Large sections of the population, especially the poor, will no longer have to worry in future about being evicted from their homes by landlords. The recently-passed rent act protects tenants from unjustified notice to leave but it still does not always prevent the inconvenience of moving into a new flat and settling in a new community.

Housing Minister Lauritz Lauritzen now plans to give council-house tenants the same security as people who own their own homes. They will not own the house or flat as some schemes propose but they will have a long-term contract giving them rights similar to ownership.

A council-house tenant will save the fifteen per cent share of total buildings dosts usual and he will not only have a permanent right of tenancy but will also receive the financial advantages otherwise enjoyed by the builder.

These advantages comprise the appreciation in the house's value and the tax savings involved in building. Of course, these advantages will also have to be paid for.

Basically, this idea is neither new nor revolutionary. It is much less revolutionary than some people had expected as it intentionally avoids scaling down public ownership of council houses.

The question is whether enough financiers will now be found to put up the milliards of Marks required as a starter.

The council-house tenants who will now be in a better position probably do not care whether this is a pre-election sop or not. But political observers do not believe it a coincidence that the plans were announced only a few weeks before polling in Baden-Württemberg.

Gerhard Weck

(Bremer Nachrichten, 12 April 1972)

Domestic affairs top priority, survey shows

A survey conducted by the Wickert Institute of Tübingen shows that 67 per cent of West Germans believe domestic policy more important than foreign policy.

Asked whether the government should pay more attention to foreign or domestic policy, 67 per cent of the people interviewed replied that domestic policy should be given priority, only nineteen per cent stated that foreign policy was more important and fourteen per cent were don't-knows.

The persons stating domestic policy to



be more important listed financial stability, full employment and the fight against crime to be the most important aims.

Those considering foreign policy to be more important want friendly relations with our Western allies to be preserved, exports to be maintained and, in third place, Ostpolitik.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 31 March 1972)

Reform of courts of law postponed

Administration of justice in West Germany is currently divided into four levels – local court, the regional court, courts of appeal and the Federal Court.

Minister of Justice Gerhard Jahn wanted to change this into a three-level system during this legislative period. A new-style regional court is planned for the lowest level. Each of these courts will cover an area with a population of about one hundred thousand.

There will be more courts of appeal than before on the intermediate level and the Federal Court of Justice will continue to be the supreme body.

Radical reorganisation of this type gives rise to a number of problems of course. It is little wonder that these plans are being opposed. The division between opponents and advocates of the reform does not run along party lines.

The strongest opposition comes from groups that are directly affected. The West German Lawyers Association categorically rejects the three-level scheme and the West German Judges Association, though not really liking the present four-level scheme, opposes Jahn's plans for other reasons. The Federal states' ministers of justice have not approved the plans without reservation either.

Reforming the administration of justice will be impossible without the backing of these important groups. Jahn's decision to change his timetable for the reform therefore seems unavoidable, though it could not have been an easy one for him to take.

Jahn now hopes that agreement or near agreement will be reached with the various interests by this autumn. There will be no dogmatism in negotiations, it is assured.

A number of reasons makes it appear questionable as to whether there will still be a chance of bringing the Bill through the Bundestag. Jahn too realises this. It is no coincidence that he speaks of helping this reform on its way. This is a lot less than was once promised. And from the political point of view, a reform postponed even for good reasons is not a reform.

(Die Welt, 12 April 1972)

Bonn liberalises laws dealing with aliens

The need to protect the family and the institution of marriage should have precedence over the interests of the State and, accordingly, West German laws on aliens will soon be liberalised for those foreigners who are married to Germans.

The Bundesrat or Upper House has already approved of an Interior Ministry Bill which will make it more difficult to deport foreigners married to Germans and break up families and marriages in this way.

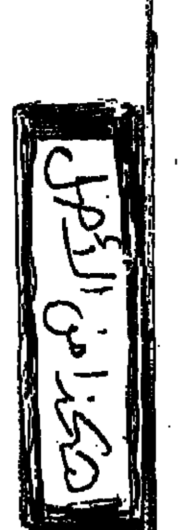
Deportation will only be possible in the event of serious offences such as those involved with narcotics or arms.

The new regulation goes back to a question in the Bundestag in 1970. A foreigner was to be deported to his under-developed homeland after his period of training in this country was over despite the fact that he had married a German girl in the meantime and planned to live with her in this country.

The new regulation will be binding for all similar cases of hardship. It states categorically: "With foreigners who are married to German, the interests of the Federal Republic of Germany impaired by the presence of these foreigners, in particular the interests of development aid policy, are to be considered secondary to the State interest in protecting the family and the marriage."

Werner K. Erdsack

(Münchner Merkur, 8 April 1972)



LABOUR RELATIONS

Guest workers increase productivity at a price

DEUTSCHE ZEITUNG
Christ und Welt

It caused quite a stir when the Minister of Labour Walter Arendt announced recently to an international audience that employing foreign workers in the Federal Republic could reach a stage where the disadvantages would swallow up the advantages for economic growth which the *Gastarbeiter* bring.

Now that foreign workers are tending to stay here longer than in the past and members of their families are increasingly following them to this country the foreign guests are losing one of their greatest advantages for the labour market – regional mobility.

Furthermore it is costing more and more public and private money to assimilate a growing number of aliens into our society.

Nevertheless Walter Arendt realises as well as anybody that for years to come the Federal Republic will need a large number of foreign workers to keep the economy going in top gear. With the decline in the length of the working week, longer holidays, longer periods of study before and after starting work and earlier retirement the amount of work per employee is being cut drastically and a correspondingly larger labour force is required to equalise this.

Between 1960 and 1971 the number of Germans working in this country increased by only 390,000. In the same period the number of foreigners working here increased by 1,850,000.

The number of unemployed has with temporary exceptions remained low, which proves that the recruiting of foreigners has proved a practical way of filling the gaps in the labour force caused by the age structure of our population, a result of war losses.

The slackening off of the economy in the second half of 1971 scarcely had any effect on the foreign labour force in this country.

While the unemployed figures almost trebled from the end of September 1971 to the end of January 1972 (from 146,700 to 375,600) the number of foreign workers in this country dropped by only five per cent to 2,130,000.

The great advantage of foreign workers, apart from the fact that they are not tied to any one part of the country, is that they are generally unskilled or semi-skilled workers and can thus make the move from one company to another or one branch of the economy to another easier than a West German worker.

The level of unemployment among guest workers is even lower than the low level among native West Germans (in the autumn of 1971 it was 0.4 per cent, as compared with 0.7 per cent).

In the recession of 1967 only five out of every thousand unemployed were foreign workers. In the autumn of 1971 the ratio was 6.1 to a thousand.

According to the Federal Labour Exchange HQ there were 36,500 places available for foreign workers at the end of February this year as compared with 86,000 the year before.

Today one in ten jobs in the Federal Republic is filled by a foreigner. Of the foreign labour force 28 per cent are women. In certain branches of the economy such as the building trade, plastics, rubber and asbestos manufacture the proportion of foreign workers is closer to twenty per cent.

The pros and cons of this trend have been discussed in a number of investigations and reports, which have in part been critical. A comprehensive breakdown has been supplied by the Deutsche Industrie-institut in two publications by Heinz Salowsky, *Gesamtwirtschaftliche Aspekte der Ausländerbeschäftigung* (Overall economic aspects of employing foreign workers) and *Sozialpolitische Aspekte der Ausländerbeschäftigung* (Social welfare policy and the employment of foreign workers).

The value to the individual employer and individual firm of a foreign labour force is evident. Without their help firms would be understaffed and machinery would lie idle. The economic and industrial setup as a whole would be in danger of breaking down. And a number of important but unpleasant jobs such as road-sweeping and garbage disposal would go by the board.

But for the economy as a whole it is a far different question. Foreign workers are not purely workers – they are also consumers, savers, taxpayers, contributors to social welfare and beneficiaries of it.

In many ways their customs and habits vary from those of people born and bred in this country and thus their being here is not just a matter of adding a couple of million to the population statistics – they have a qualitative as well as quantitative effect on life in the Federal Republic.

For one thing they affect the balance of payments by transferring about a quarter of their earnings back home.

One factor about which there is no doubt is that foreign workers have helped this country's economy expand. If the productivity per worker were to remain steady there would still be an increase in the gross national product thanks to the efforts of the foreign workers.

This is one cause of criticism. It is said that while companies can rely on a labour force which is readily importable they neglect rationalisation measures which they might otherwise carry out.

This, it is objected, causes wages to rise. But in the past two years the chain of effect has been quite different. The rising wage bill has in fact encouraged companies to carry out rationalisation moves wherever this was technically and financially possible.

In recent years when factories ceased to be viable and had to close down it has been quite clear how difficult it is for West Germans to pull up their roots and move to a new area in search of work. A reluctance to do so has been shown not only by the older workers.

It is in such cases that the mobile nature of the foreign labour force has really shown its worth. Gaps have been filled and a rate of growth has been achieved that it is hard to isolate and for which there are, therefore, no figures readily available.

Thrifty foreign workers

1960 62 64 66 68 70 71

Money transferred home per worker: 82, 119, 143, 167, 176, 209, 219 monthly

Average monthly earnings in 1971 total 1,228 Marks of which

amount sent home 219

303

Taxes and social welfare

The simple equation: "The more people employed – the greater the GNP" may seem true to expansion fanatics. But the interesting question is: Does the national product per capita increase with the employment of foreign workers?

There is even more doubt whether this is the case when the *Gastarbeiter* bring several members of their family with them who have demands to make on the national economy. In the worst cases the expansion we owe to the foreign workers is cancelled out by the extra demands made on the service industries by them and their dependents.

It is essential to keep an economic analysis of the worth of foreign workers and a humane attitude towards them quite separate so that the former does not influence the latter. The forced labour of people dragged to Germany against their will during the War has left its scars. The trauma is reflected in many ways and not least the condescending description of these aliens as "guest workers".

Time and again employers, concierges, officials and the man in the street have been exhorted to be kind to foreign workers

Most people who come to work in this country, except those from our neighbours in the West, can earn more in West Germany than they could at home, and can achieve a higher standard of living. At work and in social welfare matters they are the equals of West Germany. They are able to collect family allowances even if their children remain at home.

But critics do not measure the standard of living of foreign workers against the conditions in their home country – they measure it against the standards we are used to in the Federal Republic.

Naturally the differences are greater the shorter the amount of time spent by the foreign worker here. He has ground to make up which can only be done gradually and most foreign workers are admirably thrifty so that they can send money home. They are not so concerned about buying the material possessions that make for a "higher standard of living".

The greater the demands made by and on behalf of foreign workers the more the question arises whether it is worthwhile bringing them here. Is it worth it if whole new housing, schoolbuilding and hospital programmes must be undertaken and the whole infrastructure of the country changed? Would it not be better to recruit extra workers from this country and when Mohammed cannot go to the mountain to bring the mountain to Mohammed? It might be possible to arrange schemes whereby workers construct component parts in their home town which could then be brought to the main factory.

Professor Carl Föhl has studied the effects of employing foreigners from the point of view of economics and the standard of living by means of a comparative system. He came to the conclusion that the increase in the standard of living which many people expect to be the result of employing *Gastarbeiter* is a myth.

He says it is most likely that by employing foreigners and continuing to operate with outdated plant companies will effectively cut per capita productivity. This is even more likely to be the case as the proportion of non-paying investments increases with the arrival of more and more foreign workers for whom houses etcetera will have to be provided.

Switzerland had to deal with this problem long before the Federal Republic. When the number of foreign workers employed increases from year to year, it was found, the proportion of consumer

Continued on page 7

Equal redundancy rights for foreign workers

Sixty thousand people are with work and a further thirty thou. on short time in the state of N.-Rhine-Westphalia – very disquieting ures. Redundancies owing to deteri ing economic conditions and fewer or are on the increase.

But the legislation to protect work made redundant requires employers find the right, or at least a suit provision for their employees.

This provision for equal rights extend to all jobs in the firm th comparable and must take into acc all the circumstances of the indiv case, such as marital and family sta the length of employment, numbe children, age of employee and others factors.

This provision for equal rights is rescinded in cases where a pressing tech cal, economic or other justified requ ment of the firm makes it essential keep on one employee while a fortunate colleague has to be laid off.

Lately the question of the relation between a West German employee and foreign worker when it comes to t crunch has been raised on a number occasions. People want to know wheth there should be discrimination on principle: "the foreign workers go fi then the West Germans".

According to law the foreign wor must be treated as equal to the German. On no account should he be disadvantage. Our courts have de that when in Germany foreign wor should do as the Germans do and be all our laws apply to them, includ redundancy protection legislation.

Still it is possible that judges in th country, when weighing up the vari factors, will take into account any ear statement made by a *Gastarbeiter* on h long he will remain in this country. could be made to abide by any su decision even if he has changed his m since.

Likewise the Federal Labour Court already passed a verdict that a *German* worker who had declared intended to work for his firm fo limited time could also be put high o list of men to be made redundant.

(Handelsblatt, 31 March

Foreign workers elect their own parliament

In the Rhineland industrial town Troisdorf aliens working there elect their own 'aliens parliament' on June. The foreign workers' representa tives will advise the elected municipal authorities on matters concerning the local *Gastarbeiter*.

Of the 55,000 people of Troisdo 5,500 are workers from abroad. This is first time foreign workers in this country have got organised on such a basis.

A sub-committee of foreign workers has already convened to work out th guidelines for election procedure and these on to the *Gastarbeiter*.

The various national groups, Gree Italians, Yugoslavs, Spaniards and Tu will vote for their representatives in parliament separately.

The foreign workers' representati will enter into discussions with municipal authorities and will be able speak on sub-committees.

Troisdorf municipal authorities are in favour of the foreign workers' initiati and have offered them a building wh was formerly a town hall for th meetings.

(Neue Hannoversche Presse, 7 April 19

PUBLIC SERVICES

Bundespost criticised for poor service at increased cost

Münchner Merkur

Shrieks were heard from the telephonist at a Hamburg export-import company. She had a screaming fit because she had been trying for five hours to get a number in Constance for her boss. She had not on one occasion managed to dial all five digits of the code for Constance, 07531, before the depressing pip-pip-pip of the engaged signal rang in her ear.

The young lady was one of many who go mad every day trying to get a number, waiting for a letter that never arrives or waiting for a second delivery which never turns up. Meanwhile the Bundespost proudly issues press releases with "facts worth knowing".

For instance that the number of main telephone connections in the Federal Republic has doubled since 1966, that fifty per cent of all applications to have a phone installed are carried out within three months, that the total value of post office equipment has risen in the past twenty years from 2,300 to 25,700 million Marks, that the post office expects turnover of 26 milliard Marks in 1974, that postal and telphone communications increased by 34.6 per cent between 1966 and 1970 while the post office staff increased in size by only 2.7 per cent.

Such statistics are not very interesting to Herr Schmidt and Frau Müller. They are far more concerned by the fact that from 1 July this year they are to face higher charges imposed by Georg Leber's Ministry of Posts, Telecommunications and Transport.

Charges were raised in 1971 and the Bundespost hoped this would get them out of the red. But the deficit in 1972 is likely to break all records. The increased charges will not make up for this, but will only soften the blow somewhat.

Statisticians, we all know, are not just brainy mathematicians, but also magicians capable of proving anything. The price of posting an inland letter will go up from thirty to forty pfennigs, but this does not represent an increase of 33 per cent they say.

They claim: "The increase in fees represents a percentage increase of the general level of prices equivalent to only 0.14 per cent. As a result of this the total price index for the cost of living of all private households will increase by only 0.114 per cent."

Certainly these figures are right enough, for the Bundespost is not raising all charges, but only those that make a profit anyway, or at least break even, namely the telephone service and mail.

But these statistics bring little comfort to those plagued by the declining level of service, such as the failure to fill numbered boxes at weekends, the increasing withdrawal of Saturday deliveries, the express letters that go by snail mail and the like.

The man in the street agrees with the Chairman of the Postal Users Association Wilhelm Hübner of Offenbach, who says: "The service provided by the Deutsche Bundespost is wretched."

Herr Hübner does not criticise the postal service per se so much as its degree of efficiency, its economics and its methods – not its work, but the way that work is carried out, and the way it must be carried out according to law.

With its 507,257 employees the West German postal service is the largest service industry in Europe. One can well imagine the amount of effort that goes into its annual productivity, such as the level achieved in 1971:

The number of letters carried was 11,500 million (188 letters per capita as compared with 164 in 1962), the number of packages delivered was 323 million. 2,800 million newspapers and magazines were sent through the post and the number of passengers carried on post buses was 409 million.

The turnover of the postal transmission of money service was 200 million Marks, and 3.5 million postal-cheque accounts brought a turnover of 1,170 million Marks. The national post-office savings books held a total of 10,400 million Marks. 3,700 million calls were made on the subscriber trunk dialling system.

These are just a few of the figures from a few of the postal services.

The Association of Postal Users criticises the Bundespost as a service industry which may not receive fiscal aid or subsidies, and which makes charges on those services on which it enjoys a monopoly designed to subsidise those on which it does not, and on which it vies with private enterprise though not standing a chance of competing.

So from 1 July, although the telephone service pays its way, subscribers will have to pay more in the form of higher basic charges and a shortening of the period of time that may be bought for their money. This is despite the fact that the phone service makes a thirty per cent profit on turnover.

The postal authorities maintain that the high level of indebtedness at present, 26 milliard Marks, is mainly due to investments on telephone equipment. This is true. What they do not say is that these investments are a paying proposition. In 1969 alone with a total turnover of 7,540 million Marks the returns from invested capital stood at the extraordinarily high figure of 4,020 million Marks. This was 837 million Marks in excess of the 3,180 million invested in the phone service.

If the Bundespost cannot get into the black it is because of costs that should be met by Bonn and which totalled 700 million Marks in 1970. These include expenditure on retired postmen's pensions and subsidies for the postal service in and around Berlin.

Unlike industry and the Federal railways the Bundespost is not subject to value added tax laws and so it cannot claim tax rebates on the VAT passed on to it by its suppliers. In 1972 alone it is estimated that this loss will amount to 600 million Marks.

The objections raised by the Postal Users' Association to the increased charges are falling on deaf ears. But more than ever before Herr Hübner's demands should be backed up and echoed by the general public.

If this is not the case we can expect the Bundespost to keep wriggling out of its responsibilities as it did in this reply to an objection raised by a magistrate in Karben, Hesse, to the deteriorating postal service:

"Despite the increase in productivity that has been achieved by the Bundespost the demand for its services has continued to increase substantially and it has been impossible to keep up with this and to avoid shortcomings."

Continued rising charges are unavoidable, too, it would seem.

Albert Bechtold

(Münchner Merkur, 6 April 1972)

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activity declines in favour of financing for new investments.

The moment at which the payoff comes and consumer activity is boosted by the extra productivity owing to the foreign workers is postponed and postponed.

Many surveys have been conducted on this theme and generally speaking they can be reducted to the following common denominators.

* Employing foreign workers increases economic growth but slows down the growth of the standard of living because the essential extra investment on the factory floor and in infrastructure cuts down the amount of consumer goods available for per capita consumer activity.

* The extension of the potential labour force slows down the drive towards streamlining and rationalisation and hampers technological progress.

* The difference in the capabilities of foreign and local workers is detrimental to productivity at work.

Of course not all the experience that has been gleaned from the Swiss can be applied wholesale to the Federal Republic. For a start the relationship in terms of numbers between foreign and local workers is different in Switzerland.

The proportions will not be the same in the Federal Republic until the number of *Gastarbeiter* has increased from two to seven million.

In this country it was not so much a question of creating new jobs for the foreign workers. The *Gastarbeiter* came here to fill vacant jobs.

Nevertheless we have now got to the stage where stocktaking of the path we have trodden so far must be done far more thoroughly.

Günther Schach

(Deutsche Zeitung, 7 April 1972)

Monopolies Commission hits out at fibre producers

Rumour had it for some time that the Federal Monopolies Commission (Kartellamt) in West Berlin was about to pounce on West German synthetic fibres manufacturers for malpractices and now the expected blow has come.

The authorities who ensure industrial competitiveness has imposed a record fine of 48,440,000 Marks on all nine West German manufacturers of fibres from cellulose, polyamide (Perlon and Nylon), rayon textiles and acetates. In addition to this, fines totalling 410,450 Marks have been imposed on eighteen company managers and one employee of the Deutsche Revisions und Treuhand AG (auditors and receivers), Düsseldorf.

But the Kartellamt decision is not yet legally binding so there is certain to be a ding-dong battle in the Berlin Supreme Court. On the other hand it is likely that the European monopolies watchdogs will step in on account of excessive limitations to competitiveness agreed among the companies to the detriment of the textiles industry.

Despite the extent of the fine imposed this record 49-million-Mark punishment was not such a great surprise, and something of this order had been expected. It is nevertheless many times higher than the previous record fine of six million Marks imposed on the linoleum manufacturers DLW and RLB.

What was a far greater surprise was the nature of the charge against the companies; not that they had engaged in prohibited export deals, but that they were involved in "domestic, European and international cartels in order to cut competitiveness on the market for raw fibres".

The Kartellamt points out that according to the structure of the chemical fibres industry all the manufacturers concerned belong either directly or as subsidiaries to the major chemicals companies.

The following firms were involved and the fines they were expected to pay as well as the criticised agreements they made are given in parenthesis:

1) *Farbwerke Höchst AG*, Frankfurt (Fine: 5,080,000 Marks for participation in cellulose wool and polyamide agreements).

2.) *Süddeutsche Chemiefaser AG*, Kelheim, a subsidiary of Hoechst (1,400,000 Marks; cellulose wool).

3) *Farbenfabriken Bayer AG*, Leverkusen (7.5 million Marks; polyamide).

4) *Phrix Werke AG*, Hamburg, a subsidiary of BASF which has now been closed down (1,790,000 Marks; cellulose wool, rayon textiles).

5) *ENKA Glanzstoff GmbH*, Wuppertal (85,000 Marks; acetate).

6) *Glanzstoff AG*, Wuppertal, a subsidiary of ENKA Glanzstoff (21,140,000 Marks; cellulose wool, polyamide, rayon textiles).

7) *Deutsche Zellwolle GmbH*, Frankfurt, a jointly owned subsidiary of the second, fourth and sixth companies mentioned above, each with a third share (20,000 Marks; cellulose wool).

8) *Deutsche Rhodiaceta AG*, Freiburg, a subsidiary of Rhône-Poulenc in France (11,015,000 Marks; polyamide, acetate).

9) *Lonzona GmbH*, Säckingen, a subsidiary of the Swiss Lonza AG (410,000 Marks; acetate).

According to the Kartellamt the procedure employed to which they objected was this. The European synthetic fibre manufacturers formed a group to ward off jointly the growing competition on this market from the Japanese. They divided up their various spheres of interest to mutual advantage with the result that "Japanese fibres rarely came on to the European market".

In addition to this European fibre manufacturers concluded cartel agreements among themselves to divide up the spheres of influence on the home market, fixing prices, which also applied to importers or by making direct rulings on quantity so that infiltration of the domestic market by outsiders could largely be avoided.

Finally the members of the national groups involved in the production of polyamide, cellulose wool and acetate fibres were also found to be responsible for setting up cartels for division of the market, price fixing, discount on total turnover and for distribution and sales.

According to the watchdogs over competitiveness these agreements almost put an end to rivalry on the home markets. The advantage gained from this was used to the detriment of the economically weaker textiles industry, they state.

As a result synthetic fibres made in Europe were being sold at a higher price on the home market than abroad, where vestiges of competitiveness remain.

In order to counterbalance the greater competitiveness of foreign producers synthetic fibre manufacturers in this country "made illegal agreements which they called an export promotion drive".

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 6 April 1972)

■ TRANSPORT

Magnetic suspension rail network's possibilities for the future

Ministers of Transport take – or certainly used to take – the greatest of pleasure in cutting the tape with a pair of gold scissors to open officially yet another section of autobahn.

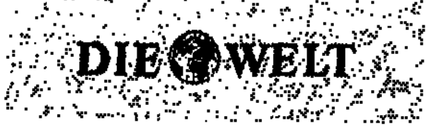
Of late the politicians who specialise in transport and traffic problems have developed a new approach, though. Their latest favourite is the mode of transport of the future, the hovertrain or magnetic suspension rail network.

Are they a practical proposition or is this sudden interest in trains without wheels merely a flight from reality? Is some such system a viable and technologically inevitable alternative for coping with transport problems to come?

For the most part transport planning is nowadays based on the assumption that there is a gap between the private car and the aeroplane. The private car will reach saturation point by the end of the present decade.

In 1980, then, one person in three will be, statistically speaking, a car-owner. Whether he will be able to use it to any purpose is another matter. Despite ambitious road-building programmes (and where is the money to come from?) there seems to be scant hope of satisfying demand. The autobahn construction programme has, moreover, passed its peak.

By 1980 domestic air travel will also be nearing saturation point, but the railways – at present the only alternative – are outmoded and only just manage to compete with other modes of transport



by virtue of substantial government subsidies.

Yet transport requirements for both goods and passengers continue to increase. Greater mobility is called for and the travelling public are increasingly demanding. Environmental protection is also assuming greater importance.

In technological terms the gap between road and air transport occurs at a speed of some 300 miles an hour. The average touring speed by car is about 75 miles an hour and tending to slow down rather than grow faster. Two hundred miles an hour is virtually the limit for conventional railways. Air travel, on he other hand, does not enter the picture until speeds of 500 miles an hour or so are reached.

The theoretical requirement for which planners have set out to cater is the case of the Hamburg businessman with six hours of negotiations to conduct in Munich.

He will want to cover the distance (roughly 500 miles) in two hours so as to be able to set out in the morning and be back home the same evening and he will want to do so comfortably, come rain or snow, and economically.

Rail networks using environmentally acceptable electric power would seem to be the only answer. Bonn rightly accords maximum priority to the so-called magnetic suspension railway.

Kraus-Maffei and Messerschmitt-Bölkow-Blohm, both of Munich, have built test tracks for their competing magnetic suspension systems. A test run with either train is still a fairly noisy business but the engineers point out reassuringly that the whole project is still at the experimental stage.

What is more, even the prototype glides, hovers or whatever a good deal more smoothly and quietly than a conventional railway carriage powered by electric railcar.

In both cases, too, the design idea is an exciting proposition. The carriage does not come into contact with the tracks at all. It hovers three fifths of an inch above them, held in place by magnetism. There is neither friction nor wear and tear.

The test vehicles currently undergoing trials are not yet completely independent of ground contact, however. Like trams or trolleybuses they still have a power pick-up. It would be uneconomic to generate power on board and other than by direct contact a way of beaming electric power at the railcar as it hurtles over the tracks has yet to be found.

The propulsion unit is the well-known electromagnetic linear motor generating a mobile magnetic field. The word "mobile" leads on to a further problem. How much energy is going to be "lost" at speeds of 250 or 300 miles an hour?

In the past the assumption has b[een] that the magnetic field will not be able [to] keep pace with a vehicle travelling [at] sixty miles an hour. This has b[een] disproved in practice and the cur[rent] trials are designed to determine [the] effect speeds of 300 miles an hour h[ave] on the magnetic cushion on which [the] train glides.

The inductive linear motor, which to [all] intents and purposes is an unro[lled] three-phase motor, will shortly be und[er]going crucial tests. It will also have [to] master high speeds in bad weather.

Fog will be no trouble since [the] network is fully electronic and there [are] no intersections but snow and ice [could] present problems. So could flocks [of] low-flying birds.

The advantages are self-evident. A [mag]netic suspension railway could strad[dle] autobahns, fields, factories and houses [and] would be as comfortable as flying. [It would not] clash with other modes of transp[ort,] make next to no noise and emit [no] exhaust fumes whatsoever.

What is more, it would not dep[rive] open country in the way an autob[ahn] does and sites for occasional p[ylons] would be by no means as expensive as [the] land needed for road-building.

Is it safe? The project engineers [say] that there is a triple braking system. [The] motor is reversed, flaps are extended [and] once the speed has declined to 225 m[iles] an hour, a mechanical brake com[es to] grips with the problem.

The safety engineers have also ta[ken] good care to ensure that carriages [come] to no harm should there be a c[urrent] failure. Once the magnetic cushio[n is] removed they could, one supposes, c[on]-

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■ AUTOMOBILES

Battery weight hampers electromobile development

For eighteen months or so a delivery van has plied the streets and building sites of Munich that has no more in common with a conventional motor vehicle than its outward appearance.

The entire body, including the chassis, is made of plastic. Instead of a conventional engine the test vehicle boasts a simple electric motor and instead of a fuel tank it has weighty batteries.

This noiseless, exhaust-free electro*mobile* was jointly developed for experimental purposes by Messerschmitt-Bölkow-Blohm, the aerospace and engineering group, Bosch, the specialists in electrical goods for motor vehicles, Varta, the battery people, and RWE, the Rhenish-Westphalian electricity corporation.

There could hardly be a more straightforward vehicle to operate. There is no gearbox and no clutch, merely a three-position lever marked forwards, stop and reverse. Speed is controlled by means of a power adjustment pedal that to all intents and purposes is an accelerator.

The van's road-holding qualities could hardly be improved on by a sports car with its engine mounted between the front and rear axles. For this is the location of the weightiest part of the experimental vehicle, the batteries.

The motor generates almost without noise a peak performance of 44 kilowatts, corresponding to sixty DIN horse power. The vehicle is capable of top speeds of fifty miles an hour, which is ample for city traffic.

Acceleration is not bad either, considering. The van can accelerate to thirty miles an hour (the limit in built-up areas) from a standing start in between seven and ten seconds.

The electric van may be child's play to drive but it is a good deal more difficult to get on the road. Environmental protection is one thing, red tape is quite another.

A special driving licence is needed to drive electric vehicles. This may in itself be a reasonable idea but it presents practical difficulties since by no means all driving instructors are entitled to teach nor test officials entitled to test the skills of driving an electromobile.

Messerschmitt-Bölkow-Blohm are a Munich firm but Munich does not boast a single official qualified to issue the driving licence. There is no one in all Bavaria in a position to do so. In the end one of these rare birds was found to exist in Hanover, so learner drivers had to travel to Hanover to take their driving test.

Electric-powered vehicles have yet to make their breakthrough and the prospects for the immediate future are none too bright. This is less the fault of bureaucracy than that of the battery manufacturers, though.

For years the manufacturers have claimed to be on the point of producing a miracle battery that is powerful but lightweight and quick and inexpensive to recharge. The point has yet to come, however, and there are no real indications that the breakthrough is any nearer now than it was a few years ago.

The batteries have been the death of all electromobile projects to date. They have been too cumbersome, too heavy and too puny in the range they permit the vehicle they power.

This applies in equal measure to the Munich delivery van. The batteries weigh a staggering 1,914 lb – not far short of a ton. Yet the maximum permissible payload is only a ton, admittedly a metric ton of 2,200 lb.

The range varies, depending on the way the vehicle is driven, between forty and 65 miles.

Even so, the men in charge of the project, powered, it would seem, by unbounden optimism, claim that their delivery van has overcome its teething troubles and could now be put to commercial use. Up to a point this would appear to be right.

From the beginning the vehicle was designed for a specific purpose, that of urban commercial deliveries. A van of this kind must have a large loading bay. Its speed and acceleration must be in keeping with city requirements. It must be easy of and trouble-free in operation. And it must combine a minimum of noise and exhaust fumes with a maximum of economy.

As regards payload, performance and ease of operation the Munich van can be rated satisfactory to good. The exhaust problem does not apply, since there is no exhaust whatsoever. The van is also unbeatably quiet.

The economics are somewhat more problematic, though. The van costs about 30,000 Marks, which is a good deal more than similar conventionally-powered vehicles. On the other hand running costs are lower and the electric van has a far longer life expectancy.

Unlike the combustion engine the electric motor has next to no parts that suffer from wear and tear and needs virtually no servicing, which is a not inconsiderable money-saver.

The bodywork is not subject to wear and tear either, since it cannot rust. Apart from one or two mechanical parts the entire body and chassis are made of plastic.

The use of synthetic material was an absolute prerequisite for the entire project. It saved so much weight that the entire vehicle weighs only 792 lb more than the batteries.

The chassis is extremely stable in comparison with pressed steel, too. In crash trials the body proved to be extremely shock-absorbent. There is no need for special concertina zones.

The vehicle's range is, it is true, nothing to write home about but the manufacturers do not feel that this will present much of a problem. In a survey conducted in Munich it was discovered that four out of five one-ton vans only cover distances of between 35 and fifty miles a day.

The electric van's range is thus ample in most cases. After a full day's work it can be plugged into the mains and recharge its batteries overnight or simply have its batteries changed.

In conclusion one could, perhaps, say that the Munich van is a relatively sensible solution to the problems of developing electric-powered vehicles, particularly as it has been specially designed for the job.

The real breakthrough will not come, however, until battery manufacturers achieve a considerable measure of progress and this may take some time yet.

Jürgen Schmitz-Feuck

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 6 April 1972)



The electromobile developed by Messerschmitt-Bölkow-Blohm (Photo: MBB)

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ceivably drop off like pegs off a clothes line.

Seriously though, what about the economics of the project? The planners are working in terms of a seven-per-cent profit. On this basis passenger travel would be comparable in cost to first-class railway travel today.

Magnetic trains could also convey containers, cars and goods vehicles at attractive rates, or so the cost accountants claim.

A report recently submitted in Bonn suggests the construction of an initial semicircular route from Hamburg to Munich via Bremen, Bielefeld, Dortmund, Cologne, Frankfurt, Mannheim and Stuttgart. A more direct route via Hanover, Kassel, Würzburg and Nuremberg would complete a figure of eight.

By 1985 the daily volume of freight could render 34,000 heavy goods vehicles redundant. This is a mere one per cent of the present volume of railway freight and 24 per cent of road haulage is to be rechannelled via the new magnetic suspension rail network.

By 1985 the new network could indeed cater for two thirds of road traffic, one third of conventional rail traffic and ten per cent of air traffic.

The first major hurdle is to be scaled next year when a forty-mile test section is to be built near Augsburg in order to prove the superiority of the new system over car, rail, air and hovertrain transport on middle distances. As in the case of research so far conducted, the Federal government will contribute towards the 300 million Marks or so these first major trials will cost.

The figure of eight between Hamburg and Munich will cost somewhere in the region of 20,000 million Marks, though. It remains to be seen how sums of this amount are to be raised. *Peter Gillies*

(Die Welt, 4 April 1972)

Volkswagen unveil battery-powered van

Major manufacturers having already unveiled their latest models the 42nd Geneva motor show sprang few surprises. There was, though, what *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* was pleased to call a "small but lovingly arranged special exhibition" outlining the harm that can come of imperfectly combusted motor fuel.

British Leyland had an answer to the problem of exhaust fumes on display at Geneva, an electric car. It was, needless to say, a prototype, there still being no signs of a battery powerful enough to compete with conventional combustion.

In this country too research and development engineers with the major motor firms are engaged in work on electric propulsion. The latest development has just been unveiled by Volkswagen.

To look at, the VW electromobile cannot be distinguished from a conventional transporter. Instead of a 1,600-cc petrol engine an electric motor has been linked to the gearbox.

Only one of the gears is needed, though, and the manufacturers have opted for second gear. Reverse is unnecessary. With an electric motor a gearbox is not needed to reverse direction. It is merely a matter of flipping a dashboard switch.

So the clutch pedal is superfluous and only the brake and accelerator are left. Initial braking is electric, also serving to recharge the batteries, followed at a later stage by conventional mechanical methods.

Unfortunately the range is limited to between thirty and fifty miles, depending on whether the van is driven stop and go or uninterruptedly at a steady speed of thirty miles an hour.

The batteries, once flat, need recharging. The unit consists of 72 cells, is 144 volt, weighs 840 kp, has a life-span of 1,500 recharges and is manufactured by Varta.

In order to help solve the battery problem Volkswagen have concluded an agreement with RWE, the Rhenish-Westphalian electricity corporation, on battery-changing facilities. Batteries can be replaced in a matter of minutes and the electromobile can then venture straight back on to the roads.

(Die Zeit, 31 March 1972)

Minister signs into law 100-km/h speed limit

Despite an increase in the number of motor vehicles registered in this country the number of road deaths declined last year to 18,685, as against 19,193 the year before.

The number of injuries sustained in traffic accidents declined from 531,000 to 517,000 and the number of accidents reported from 550,000 to 535,000 over the same period.

The Minister of Transport, Georg Leber, commenting on these figures in Bonn, attributed the breakthrough to the new highway code that came into force just over a year ago and to efforts to ensure increased vigilance on the roads.

Herr Leber further announced that he has signed a decree specifying 100 kilometres an hour (62.5 mph) as the maximum permissible speed on all roads other than autobahns and that this regulation was to come into force on 1 October next.

That, the Minister said, was that. Roads were highways and not racetracks. There must be an end to speeding once and for all. (Neue Hannoversche Presse, 17 March 1972)

FILM AND THEATRE

Wuppertal's *King Lear* is something of a comedy

Edgar, the Duke of Gloucester's legitimate, son, comes back from a long pilgrimage radiant in a suit of golden armour and fights Edmund, his bastard half-brother who wears the black armour of the devil.

Evil perishes. The corpses mount up. Lamenting, King Lear drags his only faithful though previously disowned daughter Cordelia on to the stage where her sisters, the avaricious, lascivious and depraved Gonerll and Regan, already lie.

All three are dead. King Lear and Cordelia are dressed in the most radiant white of innocence and purity. And now the old, much-tormented King is unable to bear his grief. The final words read:

The oldest hath borne most: we that are young/ Shall never see so much nor live so long.

The well-known tragedy has a grotesque climax with Baroque disguise and theatre-goers would be more tempted to laugh than cry despite all the bodies. The Willy Händler, Horst Laube and Claus Peymann production of Shakespeare's *King Lear* in Wuppertal did not evoke identification and sympathy from the audience.

Everything to be seen was theatrical and the audience always had their noses shoved into it – everything was theatrical. It was not a real tragedy but one that was pretended. Even the serious passages evoked laughter.

As much as some Shakespeare admirers may be irritated, this special quality of Claus Peymann's production of *King Lear* in Wuppertal cannot be rated highly enough. To achieve this quality, Peymann simply incorporated the acting into the play as well, – though this is not so simple. It was not kings and queens, dukes and soldiers who were standing on stage, but obviously only actors playing these roles.

Stage designer Christian A. Steiof provided an unmistakeable basis for this venture. A simple rectangular wooden structure resembling scaffolding showed where the stage was, forming a giant though open box. The side nearest the audience dropped down and the play could begin.

The problems involved with the large number of exits and entrances and scene changes solved themselves as the actors could be seen both before and after their appearances.

Of course everything would have been even more charming if the whole idea had been new but similar methods were employed for the production of Turrini's *Tollster Tag* in Darmstadt for instance.

This is with doubt suitable stage design for modern-day Shakespeare productions. The acts of heroism and villainy, the kings, ladies and blackguards and the passions and emotions presented have now become unrealistic.

They are only realistic in the form in which they appear – as Shakespearean theatre. Illustrating this reality is the main thing. Apart from this, intentional quotation makes the play freer and gives more pleasure than the ideas that have long been of no significance.

Claus Peymann knew how to put this into effect. Apart from a few rather long-winded passages such as Edgar's pilgrimage with his blinded father to Dover, the action is mainly exciting and there are always surprises.

The actors were in top form, though some reservations must be made. The overall idea did not suffer, only its realisation in individual cases. The best illustration of this is Bernhard Minetti in the role of King Lear, the most outstanding actor in the production.

Minetti's ever-fascinating and flawless actions lacked what could be called motivation. It was as if they came out of the blue. The question must be asked whether the background and development of this figure must be cut away to such an extent as in this production.

Doesn't the intention of performing the play itself as reality permit and encourage one to act the protagonist's role as a felt whole instead of dissecting it into individual actions that could not always be grasped psychologically any longer? There would have been possibilities enough for relating this to the play as is necessary, even if other methods had to have been adopted.

The production lacked confidence and ease. Peymann did not fully achieve the simplicity and informality that could be imagined here. But that only detracts a little from the charm of the production. It appeases theatre-goers who are used to the many attempts by so many theatres to find again the lost legitimation for Shakespeare. Shakespeare can always be acted. The only thing that must be known is how.

Heinrich Vormweg

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 6 April 1972)



Scene from the Wuppertal production of *King Lear*

(Photo: Abisag Tüllmann)

The Art of the fugue to be main work at Ansbach Bach Festival

Next year Ansbach will be holding its 25th Bach Week. In the past quarter of a century the town has achieved a high international artistic reputation as a result of this festival.

The main work on the programme will be a production of *The Art of the Fugue* in the Wolfgang Graeser version for a large orchestra. Fritz Rieger, who played at the first Bach Week, will conduct the Bamberg Symphony Orchestra.

Wolfgang Graeser's arrangement and instrumentation of Bach's last major uncompleted work demands the same size orchestra as Bruckner alongside the organ and harpsichord and was first performed by Karl Straube and the Gewandhaus Orchestra in St Thomas, Leipzig, in 1927.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 29 March 1972)

No praise for political films shown at Oberhausen short-film festival

In principle, the Oberhausen Short-Film Festival has had no selection process that has not been open to all-comers since the scandal caused in 1968 when West German film-directors pulled out of the programme in protest.

But the principle was not applied rigidly and four years of mock justice will probably end in 1973 when it should prove impossible to show every yard of film sent to the Festival even if it does conform to the regulations.

There will once again be a preliminary selection. The outcome will be discussed at special meetings and directors, critics and other visitors present will select the West German entries for the international programme.

The poor quality of most of the 160 films submitted and the methods of this year's programme committee have prompted a change of mood in Oberhausen. Even in past years films that were thought poor or inconsequential by the programme committees were given the worst showing times – those in the morning or around midnight.

This year's commission was not elected but appointed by the North Rhine-Westphalian Film Promotion Association. It made up a number of contemptuous titles for film categories – "Have you seen this before?", "Another attempt to gain subsidies" and "The ultimate in rubbish" were among the phrases coined.

But the people attacked in this way did not rebel. Significantly enough, these categories did not include anyone who had made a political film and there was nobody either who had been able to influence Festival policy.

But politics was discussed elsewhere – in fact it was discussed too much and the demand was even made that Oberhausen should become a festival exclusively for political films.

The suggestion was also made that a failed attempt at a political film should be shown in the main programme as long as the politics expressed in the film were of the right ideology.

That is the surest way not to achieve one's aim. When the idea of a politically and ideologically standardised society is taken as what pluralism really implies, forgoing political cunning involves forgoing effective policies.

It is no coincidence that this cropped up. It is not only Festival policy and something on the periphery of the whole event. It all has something to do with the films produced here in the last twelve months. Their politics is no better than that expressed by their champions.

Almost all the aesthetic cleverness has been dismissed from the political films that predominated and, in fact, formed the most interesting, though least hopeful part of the first few days when the final selection is made.

Last year observers were tempted to put forward a type of convergency theory. On the one hand there were the political film-makers and on the other a tendency to promote aesthetic methods in all but the pronounced political films.

Today this seems to have been no more than a passing phase. Everything points to a confrontation in which scarcely anything is recognised. In Kurt Rosenthal's *Maria Martinez Lopez* a picture story is photographed, the pictures rolled in front of the camera and fade-ins and montages produced within the story so that the whole film becomes a visual experience setting off a learning process as to what seeing and sight actually are.

The methods of visual persuasion available to film aesthetics as it develops further – or the methods that could be made available if this type of aesthetics was not disavowed so much – are rejected by the makers of political films, especially if they are Socialists.

Violent criticism comes from this camp whenever these methods are employed. *Strike at Piper & Silz* a film made by Adolf Winkelmann and Gerhard Büttenbender about an industrial conflict in the Ruhr in 1923, was described as soap-opera and proletarian Hollywood-style.

Opinions can differ over whether this intentionally operatic-style film owes more to the aesthetics of Visconti or, as its makers claim, to the Socialist Realism of the Peking Opera or the earlier style of the DEFA or even the Ufa film companies.

It should not be ignored that an attempt has been made to develop an individual style for political films in the Federal Republic despite the lack of tradition.

The lack of tradition is also a problem for most of the other political films. They exhaust themselves in theoretical claims that are illustrated visually though not developed.

The exceptions show what is needed. The medium-length *For Women – Chapter One* by Christina Perincioli of the Berlin Film Academy and the documentary *Red Flags Can Be Seen Better* by Rolf Schübel and Theo Gallehr rise above the general mediocre to miserable standard otherwise found in Oberhausen. These two films have been devloped from reality and not theory.

For Women – Chapter One show how shop assistants in a supermarket achieve solidarity. The women playing these roles state their own experiences, they have had a say in writing the script and their participation in the film has altered both their consciousness and situation.

A similar process is found in *Red Flags*. The documentation derives its political power of conviction and its political effect on the viewer from the precise depiction of how workers on strike come to realise all about their economic and social dependence on society.

Peter W. Jansen

(Die Zeit, 7 April 1972)

OPERA AND BALLET

New Glen Tetley ballet at Hamburg is as enigmatic as ever

DIE ZEIT

After watching a ballet by the American choreographer Glen Tetley one gets the feeling that if only one knew the code one would get to the bottom of a puzzle which would give one an insight into an inner world.

Tetley is a vanguard fighter whose complex, intellectual and intricately devised Modern Dance swims against the tide. Other choreographers intend to throw light on conditions or narratives by the means of choreography.

But the more complicated and involved a Tetley ballet becomes the more puzzling it turns out to be. And we see the more clearly Tetley's perseverance with a sphere of art in which he has developed particularly artificial methods of communication.

For example there are the symbols of a hunting ritual in *Mythical Hunters* and "Tai Chi", a Chinese form of shadow boxing in *Embrace Tiger and Return to Mountain*.

Thus it is impossible to say anything definite and real about Tetley's ballets, *but* this is not to say there is no reality (psychological description) in them. But it is necessary to be introduced into the semantics of his choreography.

Tetley has sharpened up his artistic ideas noticeably over the years with his *productions for the* Hamburger Staatsoper, *Threshold*, and *Chronochromie* and the abortive *Circles*.

After the strict sterile laboratory exercises he has now at least cast doubt upon his inner arrangement with the sublime ballet world born of an awareness that he must communicate. In *Imaginary Film* he has spliced together art and kitsch and in his recent production for the Nederlands Dans Theater *Small Parade* he apparently threw Classical Ballet overboard.

In Threshold we see a clash of indentification with and doubts about ballet, for Tetley whose work is becoming richer and more virtuoso with the passage of time like many artistic producers has allowed Romanticism to linger.

Threshold is more than anything choreographed in a *musical* manner (which is hidden by the scandalous reproduction of Alban Berg's violin concerto at the Staatsoper). In the introductory motif of the violins four women dancers come in as in George Balanchine's *Serenade*.

They are wearing body stockings under flowing skirts down to the ankles and bathed in bluish-black lighting. Then four male dancers enter and extend the movements of the women.

In the allegretto of the score we see a correspondingly correct "Viennese" large-scale and indeed arrogant and overbearing choreographed ballet Romanticism. There is much dancing up on points, soft rounded arm movements and extended aerial movements.

Threshold never sinks to the level of the nostalgia of *Dances at a Gathering* by Jerome Robbins for instance.

This ballet alternates rapidly between group dances and the soloist passages and will not allow itself to be fixed by stylisation.

The dancers appear in step-like formations rising aloft and when they make their springs these do not appear to be synchronised. This is all suggestive of literary motifs. A girl dressed in grey appears as if from a mirror and seems to take on life of her own.

In these girls we come to recognise more and more as they come on to the stage to add to the numbers or to relieve other dancers that this is one and the same figure in a dialogue with herself.

Stereotyped movements, for instance touching with flattened hands, perhaps touching the partner, are further constructive elements in a dancer's searching for her role.

Something of this kind becomes the dramatic outline of the allegro movement presented with a girl dressed in red and black descending a spiral staircase, as proud as the Spanish girl in the character role.

After her another girl in the adagio movement does the splits, rolls down and introduces herself into the movements of the ballet as they become more and more lost.

A further part of the wall marking off the wings is moved away and a matronly figure, who is strongly marked as a monumental art figure with a long dress and train comes into the middle, a dancer who crosses her arms, shivering, as if seeking protection, throws herself into the arms of the woman, presumably a symbol of "absorbtion" of "transfiguration". With all the musicality of this absolute music Tetley has nevertheless managed to wrest choreography from the whole as if under duress and this is shown in these literary foreign bodies and choreographic blurrings.

Jens Wendland

(Die Zeit, 7 April 1972)



Dancers in Tetley's ballet set to Alban Berg's violin concerto

(Photo: Fritz Peyer)

Kassel and Kiel experiments shock Wagner and Bach purists

It was rebellion, double rebellion in fact, against Wagner and Wagner's grandson in Kassel's Staatstheater. Rebellion, too, against all the mythology of the *Ring des Nibelungen*, rebellion against the new Bayreuth style of *mise en scène* by Wieland Wagner, which has in itself become something of a myth.

By 1974 Kassel should have a production of the tetralogy which brings the work up to date and allies it more to modern experience. The present that is actually aimed at could better be called the future.

This is the future à la Sci-Fi, with frigid, fantastic visions of outer space. Wagnerian musical drama has been turned into a twenty-first century UFO adventure.

The second part of this adventure *Die Walküre* has now been presented to a public that was partially horrified, partially enthusiastic within the framework of the "Kassel Experiments 2" which have gathered together a series of the Wagner rehearsals held there.

It is essential to describe the stage settings which scenic designer Thomas Richter-Forgách dreamt up.

In the background is a Surrealistic scene with bizarre rocky mountains and orbiting planets, absurd technological constructions and evilly grimacing animal figures. The whole is reduced to an unpleasantly static tableau.

Before this background stands Hunding's cottage like a snug and comfy garden idyll in old German, Romanticky, kitschy style. Two gigantic cool, silvery metallic blocks stand to the sides, presumably symbolising the omnipresence of the Gods.

Wotan resides in something that is a cross between a living-room with bar and a technological control desk, sipping a cup of coffee while delivering his monologue.

Brünnhilde preens herself with brush and comb in front of a mirror in an intimate boudoir before making her appearance in front of the Father of the Gods.

In the final act the scene is dominated by totem poles with small windows in them from which the Valkyries hang the dead heroes they are bringing to Valhalla. A dome of light with a moving red wreath of illumination descends over the stage at the end when Wotan conjures up fire.

These tableaux are more alienating than ironic in our sophisticated world if they are meant to have anything to do with Wagner and not just form aesthetic scenes *sui generis*, a challenge that is issued to the director and has to be accepted.

But Ulrich Melchinger does not accept it. From helplessness rather than a conscious desire to provide a dialectic contrast he makes the cast perform as in a traditional *Walküre* production.

It looks as though conventional guest singers have just dropped in, been fitted into the Pop costumes and told to do their normal repertoire.

One positive exception to this is the scene with the cheerful and highly uncomfortable Valkyries who hunt down underwater monsters with machine guns and flashlights which they shine into the auditorium.

For the rest it is rather embarrassing, for instance the appearance of Loge who goes around lighting the electric lamps around Brünnhilde's rock with haughty balletic poses.

This production does not throw any new light on the work nor resolve any of its puzzles. Musically, too, Gerd Albrecht's interpretation consistently avoids bloating the score, working towards tonal clarity and thus losing in terms of dramatic impetus.

Outstanding in this production of *Die Walküre* are an orchestra that reacts subtly and a cast that is impressive for a lesser-known opera house with Peter Wimberger as Wotan and Joy McIntyre as Brünnhilde.

In Kiel Hans Neugebauer also recently threw down the gauntlet to the new Bayreuth with his apparently naive narrative of the curse of the Ring, which had more far-reaching results than Kassel.

And in Kiel, too, at the most recent Philharmonic Concert Hans Zender tried an experiment that was highly dangerous, but came off. In the middle of a performance of the Matthew Passion he inserted Arnold Schoenberg's *A Survivor from Warsaw*, – another attempt to get right to the heart of the Passion.

The connecting link between the two works was that the Christ of the Passion and the narrator of the Schoenberg work were sung by the same performer. The Schoenberg work deals with the suffering of the Jews in the Warsaw Ghetto and their journey to death in Auschwitz.

Zender achieved what he intended by linking up the Bach Passion music and the shrill accusations of Schoenberg. When the Schoenberg passage is over we hear the Passion with different ears.

Peter Danneberg

(Die Welt, 6 April 1972)

Scene from the Kassel production of Wagner's *Die Walküre* (Photo. Sepp Bär)

■ MEDICINE

Pill dangers discussed at Augsburg medical conference

Professor A. Schretzenmayr, organiser of the Augsburg Advanced Training Congresses for Practical Medicine, did not hesitate to include a subject on the agenda that caused a certain amount of agitation among doctors — does taking the Pill involve a serious threat to health? The points raised are of great interest to the public.

To clear up a popular misconception, Professor G. Dallenbach, the Mannheim woman pathologist, has never claimed that taking the contraceptive pill can lead to cancer.

But she did mention a series of complications that can be provoked by regular use of the Pill under certain conditions.

Unwanted side-effects can occur when the hormone balance is upset by substances contained in the Pill. Normally the hormones produced by the female organism have the following effects. Oestrogen activates cell growth in the mucous membrane of the uterus. This growth process is halted in the course of the monthly female cycle after fourteen days by the progesteron or gestagen that becomes predominant at this time.

But progesteron can prompt growth in the mammary glands and on certain glands in the genital area. Experiments on animals have shown that progesteron also accelerates the growth of tumours.

When the contraceptive pill is taken, these natural hormones are accompanied by synthetic hormones whose effects are not known in detail. Their basic disadvantage is that they upset the normal hormone balance and this, Professor Dallenbach believes, is the cause of a number of complications.

Symptoms resulting from the use of the Pill will probably not occur in women with a hormone balance that is relatively well preserved. But what about other women? How do those women with an unstable hormone balance react to the Pill?

No more than a general answer can be given here. It is impossible to make an accurate forecast of possible complications before the woman has started taking the Pill.

If gestagen is the main ingredient of the Pill there may be a reduction of tissue in the breast and the mucous membrane of the uterus, leading possibly to a long period of infertility. If oestrogen is the main substance in the pill, excessive tissue growth is observed after a long period of use.

Effects resulting from the use of the Pill can also be observed for a time after women stop taking it. Miscarriages are more common and there are chromosome anomalies in some 58 per cent of premature births compared with the usual figure of 22 per cent.

The hormone deficiencies leading to these anomalies must have been present since the first years after puberty, so Professor Dallenbach concludes that abnormal consumption of the Pill during this period could be the cause.

It is during this period that the beginnings of a later cancer of the breast develop in the body. As is well known, breast cancer does not become evident until twenty to thirty years after these factors have taken effect.

But, Professor Dallenbach added, the number of tumours occurring after taking the pill was still too low for firm conclusions to be made.

Summing up, Professor Dallenbach stated that phenomena were now appearing that should be taken seriously. Widespread and arbitrary use of the Pill must be discouraged especially as it can be assumed that damage could be done to the vascular system, liver and other organs.

The percentage of women with serious complications is still low but it must not be forgotten that millions of young, healthy women are taking the Pill. One way to prevent future trouble was to switch to a contraceptive pill of different composition, Professor Dallenbach suggested.

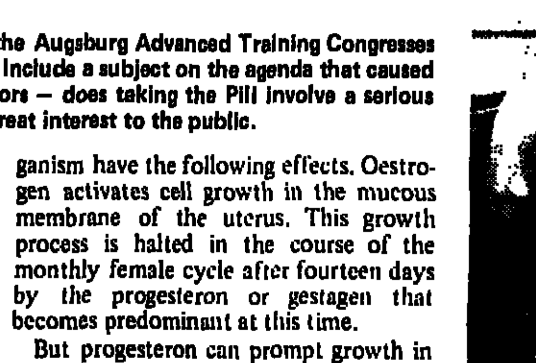
Constant medical controls are also indispensable. But how many women would decide to take the Pill if all preventive measures including a gynaecological examination were heeded before the pill was prescribed for the first time?

And how high would be the number of women willing to risk a potential threat to their health by continuing to take the Pill as an indispensable means of contraception?

Considerations of this type will long occupy doctors. Professor Dallenbach of Mannheim deserves gratitude for having had the courage to set the ball rolling.

Alfred Püllmann

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 23 March 1972)



Saving time

Hanover has introduced an ambulance into the city's medical services fitted with a radio so that data can be passed to the hospital doctor before the patient arrives. The ambulance is of considerable value when sick people have to be brought in from rural areas.

(Photo: Wilhelm Hauschild)

Doctors consider risks of psychological drugs at Landeck conference

The use of psychopharmaceutical products has increased in recent years. These substances are vital for the treatment of the mentally ill but there are a number of risks attached to them.

Professor K. Heinrich of the Palatinate Neurological Hospital in Landeck recently examined 2,040 cases and reported his findings to doctors at the fourth Diagnostics Week in Düsseldorf.

His lecture showed that there were a number of physical side-effects that could occur when drugs of this type were taken. The most common are circulatory disorders, changes in coagulation and blood composiiton, abnormal muscular activity and skin diseases, the latter found mainly among women.

These undesired side-effects were however found in less than ten per cent of the patients. But, Professor Heinrich claimed, a more broadly-based investigation would enable doctors to make a better estimation of the threats and dangers connected with treatment by psychopharmaceutical substances.

Symptoms negatively affecting a patient's mental condition were just as frequent as physical side-effects. Signs of exhaustion could occur after schizophrenic symptoms had been eliminated by treatment.

Psychopharmaceutical substances can also bring to the surface latent schizophrenic psychoses. Typical schizophrenic features are then found in the patient. There is only one solution in cases of this type. Treatment must be altered.

Jörn Krause

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 1 April 1972)

Appeal for nationwide diagnostic centres

All of West Germany should be covered by in-depth diagnostic centres in the foreseeable future if plans put forward by the Diagnostics Promotion Association are implemented.

The main beneficiaires would be patients. Diagnosis would be as reliable for patients living in rural areas as it would be for their counterparts in the towns.

Doctors too will be helped by this plan that has caused comment far beyond medical circles. A central academy which will probably be based in Düsseldorf will provide them with new ideas, show them the best working methods and test which technical equipment is best for their needs.

Speaking on behalf of the Diagnostics Association, Dr Kurt Oswald stated that general practitioners had been overwhelmed by the rate of technical progress. They were uncertain what equipment they needed.

The diagnosis system discussed at the fourth Diagnostics Week in Düsseldorf involved general practice, hospitals and, where necessary, "apparatus cooperatives" covering a number of general practitioners.

A tailer-made programme will be given to every doctor turning to the academy that will probably be independent of both State and industry. He need only state whether he is working in an urban or rural community, name the hospitals in his area and list the diseases with which he is confronted by his patients.

Academy representatives will then tell him what branches he needs further training in. They will also tell him what diagnostic equipment he should obtain for acute cases and will explain how it all works.

Academy specialists will also decide the situations in which patients should be sent to a more specialised hospital or consultant in the area for a more accurate and thorough examination.

As it is inevitable that doctors providing expensive diagnostic equipment for the sake of their patients would face financial ruin, the academy has worked out a number of schemes.

It states which doctors in a particular region should join together into an "apparatus cooperative" to buy this important technical equipment. Dr Oswald states that coordination of this type is far more efficient than State or private-owned diagnostic centres.

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 24 March 1972)

Increase in number of fatal accidents at work

The number of accidents occurring at or on the way to work has gone down in the past two years but the number of fatalities has increased. There has also been an increase in both fatal and non-fatal industrial diseases.

The number of industrial accidents dropped by three per cent or 59,395 to 1.951 million between 1970 and 1971. The number of accidents on the way to or from work went down by 12.4 per cent or 26,691 to 189,000.

The number of fatal accidents at work increased by 10.6 per cent or 286 to 2,982 and the number of fatal accidents on the way to or from work increased by 3.4 per cent or 55 to 1,663.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 11 April 1972)



■ EDUCATION

Intellectual arrogance still evident at West German universities

An educational boom has taken place in all modern industrial nations in both East and West since the Second World War. This does not mean to say that people have suddenly become more educated. Homer, Dante, Shakespeare and Goethe are scarcely read any the more frequently.

What it means is that modern society can afford to allow its younger members to learn more and study longer instead of integrating them into the working world as soon as they are of school-leaving age.

The period young people spend at school has increased in all developed countries. The number of students has also multiplied. One consequence of this increase in numbers is that educational establishments, especially universities, are finding it hard to adapt to the new requirements.

It looks as if we in West Germany find it particularly difficult to adapt to the new situation where the number of students has quadrupled in a quarter of a century. Why is this the case?

Most answers mention difficulties in the administrative sphere. There is inadequate central control, Federalism is out of date and university administrations are cumbersome, it is claimed.

There is certainly an element of truth is all this but is does not touch upon the root of the problem. There is no centralised control over the giant and much more complicated university system in the United States and it seems as if the problems involved in the mass intake into universities there are being solved much better.

The peculiarities of the West German system appear to us today as an historical burden. But the way the German university grew up in the nineteenth century should first be praised.

We Germans have no particular talents where institutions are concerned but there are two things that we have exported to the whole world — the Prussian general staff that everybody copied and the Humboldt-style university combining teaching with research that found admirers and imitators from Chicago to Kyoto.

The old German university cannot have been so bad as people try to make out today but it seems to be completely inadequate for future demands of mass higher education.

The first problem comes from the difference between university and school which is more pronounced here than anywhere else in the world. The German university sees itself as an anti-school.

It wishes to be something completely different as far as teaching and learning methods are concerned. As a result of this attitude, the German student is free or, to express it in school terms, unsupervised.

The way he obtains the necessary knowledge is his own affair. The university offers itself to him. In comparison with German students, their American, French and British counterparts are under constant supervision and burdened down by compulsory work.

It is obvious that the freedom of learning incorporated in the old German system was applicable only to a small elite, if at all. When applied to a mass of students it leads to deconcentration and mass failure.

The most important reform of studies in recent years aimed therefore at a greater concentration of studies or, let us put it more plainly, at providing a school-type supervision for basic sutdies during the first two years of university.

Up to this very day there is no general recognition that this is the right or



urgently needed course. Conservative professors and revolutionary students are unanimous in their view that this is a violation of their basic liberties.

As far as State university policy is concerned, the raising of vocational schools and colleges to university status means taking the school element out of them.

Since the days of Humboldt German universities have adopted an idea of science being largely theoretical instead of being based in practical life. This, I believe, is closely connected with the division between schools and universities.

The German idealism forming the philosophical basis for Humboldt's reforms was an attempt to bind the idea of science completely to theory. As a result, it has been nowhere more difficult than in Germany to form a link-up between science and practice.

Nowhere outside of Germany did university founders take such an extreme course as justifying universities solely from the standpoint of research. Nowhere has the division between schools and universities, life and science, theory and practice been so great as in Germany.

The fact that the professional requirements should be taken into consideration when deciding what is to be taught at universities has nowhere run into more passionate and stubborn opposition than in Germany. Both professors and students are continuing this rather blinkered tradition.

The fact that universities must be institutes of career training has been accepted unhesitatingly only by three faculties — theology, law and medicine. The philosophical faculty had no more than a propaedeutic funtion until the end of the eighteenth century. It has now become the determining factor in the image of the post-Humboldt university and has always tried to block efforts towards career training.

Opposition to the training of high school teachers last century, opposition to academic training for elementary school teachers this century and opposition to raising technical colleges to university status are not actually the greatest acts of renown in the history of German universities.

You only need to compare the curriculum of a German university with that of an American one to see the matter-of-fact way in which American universities cater for practical training courses which in this country might only be thought passable, and then only just, for adult education centres.

We have now come to the third problem. Although German universities are oriented more to research than teaching, their courses of study are more exclusively oriented to providing students with professional qualifications than in the Anglo-Saxon countries.

Anglo-Saxon universities are centred around the college — a school-type institution — where students spend three or four years studying a combination of subjects which does not however train him for a particular profession.

But most British and American students walk right into professional life with the training or, better, education they receive. However State and society do not accept final degrees as a passepartout in the professional world as happens in Germany.

Competition determines whether a person enters a particular career or not. An application is made for a job and the selection procedure is normally very much like an examination. A good degree helps a person obtain a job but it does not guarantee it.

The traditional examinations at German universities on the other hand are entry examinations into privileged professions such as that of doctor, teacher or lawyer.

Anyone who does not study for a career of this type is thought of as an academic adventurer by German universities and society. Students of art or philosophy for instance are greeted with a sad smile. What can a person studying these subjects become, apart from a professor? He could become a publisher's reader or, worse still, a journalist.

Only the German university breeds that specific form of intellectual arrogance that is more associated with typically "academic" professions than with academic training. These professions are all characterised more by the privileged careers they offer than the academic qualifications they need. The career training courses traditionally offered by German universities are all for professions in which the State is involved to a certain degree. The State guarantees these careers and the amount of starting salary.

This bad tradition is now the determining factor in all considerations I know aiming at adapting universities to the student boom of the eighties. The magic word is development and the differentiation of new careers demanding an academic education.

What that really entails is raising courses for nurses, social welfare workers and computer programmers for instance to the status of university study. Instead of unloading ballast, we are overburdening the university with new specialised courses.

But people do not realise that it will be well-nigh impossible to offer the million or so students expected in the mid-eighties courses that are tailor-made to more or less specific professions.

The courses clearly providing professional qualifications will of course remain but students must also have the opportunity at university to take courses that are not tailor-made to any specific profession but are part of a person's general education — if that term may still be used — based on a particular cultural, social or scientific branch.

This type of student will also be required for administration, industry and posts in the gigantic sphere of further education. The employer and not the university degree will decide whether a person is suitable for the post he has applied for. Academics will lose their privileges.

It is not new courses that should be developed but an idea of general education that will give hundreds of thousands of students a good reason for going to university and that will also contribute towards overthrowing the social barriers between academic and other education.

Wilhelm Hennis

(Deutsche Zeitung, 31 March 1972)

New university to be established in Passau

Bavaria's Cabinet has now passed a Bill to set up a university in Passau. As was the case when the universities of Augsburg and Bayreuth were set up, "the formation, composition, duties and powers of departments as well as university administration are to be settled by a special law".

Until this special law — the Bavarian University Law — is on the statute book, the Ministry of Education has been empowered to pass temporary regulations.

The Cabinet stated that Passau University would provide new places for students in Lower Bavaria, the only local district in the Federal state that had neither a university or college of education in the past.

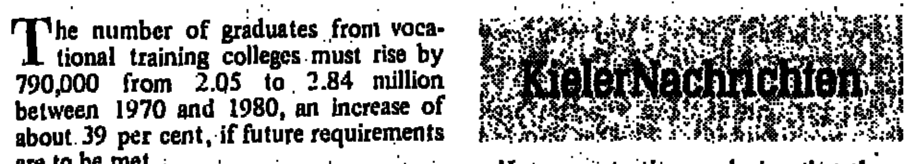
(Münchner Merkur, 12 April 1972)

Government survey suggests that engineers are the men of the future

The number of graduates from vocational training colleges must rise by 790,000 from 2.05 to 2.84 million between 1970 and 1980, an increase of about 39 per cent, if future requirements are to be met.

The number of university graduates should rise in the same period by 360,000 from 1.06 to 1.42 million, an increase of about 35 per cent over 1970, an Education and Science Ministry survey states.

The study, entitled *Highly-Qualified Workers in the Federal Republic up to 1980 — A Socio-Economic Analysis and Forecast*, was drawn up by a team headed by Dr Hans-Peter Widmaier, professor of economic theory at Regensburg University.



He comes to the conclusion that there will be a particularly great need for highly-qualified engineers in the seventies because of expansion due to steady technological progress.

The number of arts, theology, agriculture, forestry and veterinary science graduates will not need to be increased to the same extent.

Going into details, Widmaier forecast that the number of engineers involved in shipping, aircraft building and machine construction would have to increase by 66 per cent from 55,000 to 92,000 while the number of electrical engineers would have to go up sixty per cent from 29,000 to 46,000.

The number of economists and social scientists must rise by 65 per cent from 104,000 to 172,000 while the number of lawyers must be increased from 144,000 to 215,000, a rise of fifty per cent.

The study also forecasts that 154,000 workers with mathematical or scientific qualifications will be needed in 1980 compared with the 1970 figure of 130,000. This involves a rise of 49 per cent.

It will also be necessary to have 204,000 doctors and dentists in 1980 to guarantee the maintenance of the medical service. This means a 32 per cent increase over the 1970 figure of 154,000.

Only a five per cent increase in the number of arts and education graduates will be necessary. Their total figure should rise from 335,000 to 352,000.

(Kieler Nachrichten, 28 March 1972)

■ CRIME

Federal agencies intensify fight against smuggling

Frankfurter Allgemeine

The Federal Finance and Economic Affairs Ministry has called for a bolstering of the measures against drugs and weapons smuggling into the Federal Republic. There has been recently a considerable increase in offences of this kind.

In a memorandum dated 28 March the Ministry requested the principal finance office to intensify measures against smuggling of this kind along the 5,500 kilometres (approximately 3,500 miles) of Federal Republic frontier. The Ministry hoped that the finance office would make sure that travellers and businessmen understood why these severe measures were having to be applied.

References were also made in the memorandum to the fact that drug-taking had become a serious health hazard in this country.

It will no longer be possible, according to the memorandum, to have the same attitude towards road, rail, sea and air traffic as in the past, allowing passage onwards without any delay. The number of searches are not likely to be increased but they will be conducted in future with greater thoroughness and attention to detail. These searches will also involve personal baggage.

Dr Hans Georg Emde, a State Secretary at the Finance Ministry, announced at a recent press conference that improved international cooperation concerning drugs and arms smuggling would be aimed for by the Ministry, confirmed by bilateral or multilateral agreements. Above all customs officials were urgently in need of information concerning the routes drug peddlers used bringing drugs into the Federal Republic from neighbouring countries.

The sixty-six countries who make up the Customs Council in Brussels have expressed their desire to increase measures in all spheres in the fight against smuggling and last year these States said they were particulary concerned to intensify the struggle against drug-smugglers.

In the Federal Republic special efforts are being made to liaise more effectively between customs authorities, the customs crime institute in Cologne, the Federal Republic Crime Department, state crime squads, frontier control officials with headquarters in Koblenz and the Bavarian frontier police.

According to a statement made by the Federal customs administration cannabis was mainly imported to the Federal Republic from the East via Austria. LSD came into the country mainly from America and Britain. Raw opium was imported from Turkey. The frontiers most frequently used were in the south, although there has been in increase in smuggling via the Common Market into this country.

Recent reports maintain that there has been an increase in the amount of smuggling done using aircraft. Frankfurt, Munich and Hamburg were most affected in this traffic and these cities have become the centres for much international drug traffic.

Intensive precautions against drug-trafficking has driven the smugglers to the countryside. But the Federal Republic is not the main market for drug-peddlers. Rather the country is a transit route for drugs from the East destined for Britain, America and Scandinavia.

Judging by people recently arrested in drug trafficking, there has been an increase in the number of adults and youths involved and arrested. The number of minors mixed up in drugs has also increase by 67 per cent. Aliens are also involved to a considerable extent in the drug business, and are responsible for 63 per cent of all smuggling into this country. The Federal customs administration believes that foreigners are responsible for a lot of the smuggling into this country and for the turnover in smuggled goods, but that their clients in the Federal Republic are Germans and predominately minors.

Statistics released by the criminal investigation branch of the customs show that in 3,232 cases investigated in 1972 as many as 5,051 persons were found to be guilty of handling drugs. Of this figure 3,862 were West Germans and 1,189 foreigners or stateless persons. Of the total figure 463 were found to be only smugglers, 60 were smugglers and dealers, 1,547 dealers and 2,655 'recruited' clients.

In the same year police and customs confiscated 1,626 kilos of cannabis (828 the previous year), 19.5 kilograms of raw opium (7.7 kilograms) 90 kilograms of unrefined morphine (nil the previous year) and 21,000 LSD tablets (123 tablets in 1970).

The smuggling of weapons and explosives has given the anti-smuggling squads plenty of headaches. In 1971 a total of 22 cases were investigated involving 266 persons. In 1970 the figures were 171 cases and 190 persons were involved. 1,336 pistols and revolvers were confiscated – in 1970 the figure was 1,005 – along with 22 automatic weapons (previous year 21), 66 rifles (99 in 1970) and 148,777 rounds of ammunition (in 1970 the total was 54,400 rounds).

But gold smuggling presents the greatest problem. According to the statistical report recently issued by the customs authorities last year a crucial breakthrough against international gold smuggling was made. As many as 18,600 kilograms of bars of gold illegally imported were traced worth 8.2 million Marks. This figure represents 7.3 per cent of the figure of legal gold imports (107.6 tons) during 1970.

There are also a number of illegal transactions involving fuel oil, due to the differences in price and taxation in various countries. As far as customs officials can estimate in 1970 and 1971 something like 225 million litres were involved. According to official estimates as much as between 200 and 300 million Marks are lost from oil tax due to fuel oil smuggling.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 30 March 1972)

Bank raid figures

Bank robbers involved in the 354 raids on banks and similar finance houses during 1972 netted 10.1 million Marks, according to a statement made by the Federal Minister of the Interior, Hans-Dietrich Genscher, speaking at Question Time in the Bundestag.

In the course of these raids two people were killed and 25 injured. Police have solved 174 of the cases.

In 1970 there were 235 raids of which 108 were solved. The raiders made off with 5.4 million Marks.

In that year one person was killed and ten injured.

1967 was the previous record year for bank raids. Then 430 were mounted, involving mainly small banks and branches of banks.

(Bremer Nachrichten, 16 March 1972)

Young Socialists claim crime is no worse than 'in the Kaiser's time'

The wave of crime that is overtaking this country is, according to an investigation conducted by Young Socialists and Social Democrats in Göttingen "no worse now than it was during the Kaiser's time!"

Their investigations showed how important it was to get the facts concerning crime right first. For instance in 1966 twenty five per cent of the cases of people accused of murder, manslaughter or attempted manslaughter legal convictions were obtained. In 1955 this figure was something like forty per cent. The people involved in the survey are convinced that they can show a direct connection between public anxiety about crime and increased prosecutions by law agencies.

The people who took part in the investigation criticised those who opposed more liberal attitude towards sentencing and imprisonment since they use the statistics for the total of crimes solved without reference to the kind and gravity of the offence. The figure for the total number of cases solved is falsified when it is borne in mind that the figure for thefts is on the increase, but only thirty per cent of all cases of theft were solved. Excluding the incidence of theft the total number of cases solved over the last few years has remained constant at eighty per cent.

The proportion of serious crime to total crime has not increased according to statistics provided by police. – serious crime including murder, grievous bodily harm, sex crimes and theft.

The proportion in this country is at 0.1 per cent below the figures for Italy (0.3 per cent), France and the Netherlands (each 0.2 per cent).

The proportion of sex crimes is also declining. In 1963 it was 1.8 per cent of total crime and by 1970 had dropped to 1.6 per cent.

(Telegraf, 17 March 1972)

Drug-taking

"We must work on the assumption that thirty to forty per cent of all young people between the ages of 15 and 25 have had some experience with drugs," a State Secretary in the Ministry of Family Affairs said. He was speaking at the opening of an exhibition on drugs arranged by the Central Office for Health Care, Leverkusen.

According to the State Secretary most of the young drug-takers have tried drugs as many as three times.

(Bremer Nachrichten, 21 March 1972)

Police-citizen relationship not all that bad, survey shows

Citizens of North Rhine-Westphalia are quite happy with the police force they have, according to a statement made in Düsseldorf by the state Interior Minister, Willi Weyer.

He was announcing the results of a public opinion poll staged in the autumn of last year in which 2,817 people said that they were largely in favour of the work carried out by the NRW police.

Between September and December questionnaires asking for answers to twelve questions were distributed to people living in the area between the Rhine and the Weser.

But those who wished to make criticism of or praised the police had to pay for their own stamps.

Herr Weyer's summary of the survey was that "the relationship between the police and ordinary citizens is not so bad as it has often been painted."

Herr Weyer confirmed that in the largest West German Federal state people generally approved of the measures taken especially against drinking and driving.

The Minister deduced from this that the days when a man who had a few drinks and then roared off in his car was considered a bit of a wag are now past and gone.

No breakdown was given of the distribution of age groups of people taking part in the survey and their differing attitudes.

But it was stated that middle aged people in the 31 to 50 age group were the largest cross section to reply. 565 men and 396 women in this age group voiced their opinions.

Police officials should, according to 14 per cent of those questioned, be more consistent in the actions they take.

One per cent of those invited to voice their criticism stated that they found police officials "unfriendly and petty", but thirteen per cent said they found police officials worked "with efficiency and correctness but lacking the common touch."

One per cent of those who sent back their questionnaire said that Weyer's police force was "not sufficiently impartial or objective." Two per cent complained of a lack of authority and as many as seven per cent agreed with Willi Weyer's aversion to uniformed officials wearing their hair long and letting their beards grow.

Weyer himself is famous for the occasion where he sorted out the long-haired and bearded police officers on duty at the funeral of a state secretary.

The NRW police are given covering fire by the people they serve. Twelve per cent think more police should be recruited.

The Minister of the Interior commented that more than fifty per cent of police officers are involved in controlling traffic and they would be more useful in the fight against crime.

North Rhine-Westphalia's motorists apparently do not fight shy of radar traps and feel that these should be better concealed than at present. Nine per cent of replies were in favour of tighter controls on speed-merchants in view of the astronomical accident rate.

Weyer has reasons for being proud on this count. The drop in fatal road accidents in the whole country by 503 can be largely ascribed to the cut back in accidents in NRW. In this state 266 fewer people died in road accidents in 1971 than in the previous year.

Weyer's colleague in Bonn, Georg Leber, recently praised the coordinated use of police and psychologists in traffic matters. Weyer himself gave a reminder of the programme carried out by his Cabinet colleague Horst-Ludwig Riemer.

The Minister of Economics and Transport Affairs in Düsseldorf supported the police with his campaign "Show a heart on the roads." *Hans-Werner Loose*

(Die Welt, 14 March 1972)

■ SPORT

Football bribes saga unearths more and more irregularities

The Federal league football scandal is proving a real saga. Three clubs have been relegated for bribery and corruption. Two club directors have been fired and fourteen players banned, eleven of them for life.

The end is still not in sight. Investigations are still proceeding apace and one summons to attend the FA court of enquiry comes after another.

Kickers Offenbach would have been relegated to the southern regional league anyway and Arminia Bielefeld have also been demoted. The latest club to be expelled for irregularities is Rot-Weiss Oberhausen.

The court of enquiry would seem to have settled in advance who is to be relagated this season, though of course the bans on Bielefeld and Oberhausen are not yet final. In both cases appeals have yet to be heard.

Bielefeld have been relegated straight to the amateur league. Their appeal is to be heard this weekend. Oberhausen are to come up before the appeals tribunal in a fortnight's time in connection with allegations of a fixed game against Cologne.

Oberhausen director Peter Maassen was absolved of personal responsibility in the initial proceedings for lack of conclusive evidence, so the Red and Whites' fate is still uncertain. They can either be let off or demoted to the amateur league like Bielefeld.

The atmosphere at FA headquarters in Zeppelinallee, Frankfurt, has taken a turn for the worse as the tribunal unearths yet more irregularities.

In Oberhausen's case it has all along been a matter of whether director Peter Maassen or the prosecution witnesses are telling the truth. At the first hearing in connection with allegations that the club's 4 – 2 victory in Cologne had been rigged the court of enquiry, chaired by Koblenz magistrate Werner Kirsch, was more prepared to believe Maassen than the prosecution.

The court was unwilling to convict a man who has unquestionably done a great deal for Rot-Weiss Oberhausen, taking his club up to the top professional league after 25 years on the board.

Maassen held a number of ex officio appointments with the FA itself and everyone concerned with the proceedings knew him and had known him for years to be personally beyond reproach and a splendid fellow.

As the counsel for the defence was quick to point out, Maassen cuts an important figure in the commercial world of his home town and is a practising Christian most unlikely to be involved in shady dealings of any kind.

Since the initial dismissal of the case the climate of opinion has changed, however, and new proceedings have instituted. Maassen has now been accused of offering Offenbach 50,000 and Bielefeld 20,000 Marks for a draw and promising Offenbach's players a thousand-Mark bonus if they won the local derby against Eintracht Frankfurt.

The new proceedings are supervised not by easy-going Werner Kirsch, who at times did not seem to be fully conversant with the course of events, but by energetic Hanover barrister Christian Oestmann, who is not only swift and to the point but also rather authoritarian in his manner.

"I will be the judge of what is good or not," Oestmann told the tribunal at one point. "We will get to the bottom of the matter, have no fear, Herr Maassen."

Peter Maassen has had his back to the wall from the start in the latest round of proceedings. He suddenly produced carbon copies of two memos (carbon copies seemed to be plentiful but the original memos have not been forthcoming) indicating that Horst-Gregorio Canellas of Offenbach had rung him first and not vice-versa.

Why have the memos only come to light at this late stage? Why has he never mentioned their existence before? Why did he deal with the subject at a meeting of the committee of the eight Western clubs in the Federal league, a committee of which he is chairman? To what extent can FA investigations be stymied by statements under oath?

Maassen was unable to provide satisfactory answers to any of these questions. His image as a blameless director and man of honour had gone by the board in the course of the proceedings in any case. His defence was feeble, as was his reaction to the cutting comments of the presiding judge.

Once and once only did he rise to his erstwhile form, declaiming in his final speech that he was not asking the Lord above for assistance but did wish that He might refrain from lending his (Maassen's) confounded enemies a hand.

The tribunal this time was more prepared to believe the allegations levelled against him. Wilhelm Stute, ex-director of Armninia Bielefeld, stated that "Herr Maassen definitely did not say that he would be happy with a single point. He definitely said 'Let us play a draw'."

On that occasion Stute preferred to trust to the performance of his players on the field and refused to consider rigging the match. The conversation took place immediately prior to Oberhausen's away game in Bielefeld.

In Offenbach, too, the two chairman, Canellas and Maassen, are alleged to have discussed rigging the result in the board room before the game. On this occasion too Maassen claims merely to have said that he would be happy enough with an away draw. Canellas claims to have been offered 50,000 Marks for a draw.

In Bielefeld Stute reckons to have known nothing about a cash offer of 20,000 Marks. The bribe is alleged to have been offered Bielefeld trainer Piechaczek by his Oberhausen opposite number Brocker.

It was a case of allegation and counter-allegation, family against family. Both men had their wives at the ready as witnesses of the controversial telephone calls. Needless to say, both confirmed their husbands' accounts.

Two businessmen were fighting to defend their reputations. Both had made a name for themselves in the world of football and while Maassen was trying to defend his, Canellas was endeavouring to regain his reputation as ex-chairman of the first Federal league club to be relegated for irregularities.

This time Peter Maassen was the loser. Dr Oestmann of Hanover did not mince his words. "The tribunal," he declared, "is convinced that Herr Maassen has been guilty of offences and that he is no longer the right man to head a Federal league football club." *Herbert Neumann*

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 11 April 1972)

FA tribunal status reviewed

Eleven professional football players have been banned for life and deprived, let us face it, of a lucrative livelihood. Three clubs have been relegated for irregularities, and one of the three demoted to the amateur league.

Regional league clubs are entitled to employ professionals. Amateur clubs are not. The consequences for the club in question are evidently far-reaching.

The body responsible for these decisions is the tribunal of the Football Association. It used to be virtually unknown but in the wake of the football bribery scandal it has become such a household name that it is now more popular, so to speak, than the Federal Constitutional Court or the Supreme Court.

Yet the FA tribunal has next to nothing in common with the courts of justice. Together with the appeals court, the FA Federal court, it is merely an organisational arbiter, a private body. In any real sense of the word it is not a court at all.

Any club or sports organisation is at liberty to deal with offences against its own rules and regulations itself before the issue is taken to court proper.

The FA is a case in point. Offences against FA regulations are first dealt with by FA tribunals, and the FA tribunals have far-reaching powers. They also have a wide range of penalties they can impose on clubs, officials and players.

These penalties can frequently be more devastating in their repercussions than a ruling by a court of law. This state of affairs has come in for criticism from various quarters.

It is no use laying the blame at the door of the tribunals. In the final analysis the Football Association itself is the body responsible. Like any other club or association it can amend its rules and regulations should it feel the need has arisen.

(Die Welt, 23 March 1972)

Banned Cologne goalie intends to try his luck in American football

Manfred Manglitz, 31, is keeping in trim. Nearly every day the ex-Cologne international goalkeeper who was banned from professional association football for life for alleged bribe-taking drives his Mercedes 350 SL to a sports ground in the city.

His Cologne training ground is roughly half way between his ex-club's old ground at Müngersdorf, which is slowly going to rack and ruin now that reconstruction programmes for the 1974 World Cup have been temporarily shelved, and Cologne's replacement ground at Geissbockheim, where Manglitz has been banned from putting in an appearance ever since he was sentenced by the FA tribunal.

With him he takes a football – the oval variety. In six months' time it might be earning him his bread and butter. For Manfred Manglitz intends to try his luck at American football.

In the meantime he is keeping in training, taking pot shots at goal that invariably go over the posts and would, of course, make soccer coaches' hair stand on end.

"A penalty specialist can earn good money in America," he maintains. Two clubs have shown interest so far.

Al Kaczmarek, who signed on European soccer players for the US league some years ago, is now the manager of the Chicago Bears. He has already announced his intention of offering Manglitz a salary of 25,000 dollars a year.

Manglitz is non-committal. "I'd sooner wait and see what Bob Cup has to offer," he says. Cup, manager of the New Orleans Saints, is flying to Europe in April. Manglitz has been in contact with him for some months.

Nothing need come of these approaches, of course, and Manglitz would not object to an offer of a soccer goalkeeper's contract somewhere abroad. He and his solicitor reckon there is a fair chance of his playing ban being reduced to this country only.

"I would prefer that to America," he admits. Manglitz would probably then head for Belgium or Holland, always assuming of course that offers were forthcoming. He also hopes some day to be granted a trainer's licence. At present the FA playing-ban effectively puts paid to that idea.

For the time being Manglitz, who has given up his job as branch manager of a Cologne sports outfitters, is living in hopes of money from his ex-club, Cologne.

"The immediate dismissal," he claims, "came four weeks too late." His first application to the labour court was a failure but he hopes to have greater success with his appeal, which is scheduled to be heard on 21 April.

If his appeal succeeds he stands to gain a whole year's salary. His contract did not expire until the end of the 1972 season.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 11 April 1972)